

SIR FRANCIS BACON

The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall

Edited with Introduction
and Commentary by
MICHAEL KIERNAN

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*The Essayes or Counsels,
Civill and Morall*

This is the first critical edition of Bacon's *Essayes* since the nineteenth century. Professor Kiernan has applied modern editorial standards to establish an authoritative text—one based on a fresh collation of extant manuscripts (including the important Harleian MS which contains annotations in Bacon's hand) and of the thirteen editions (1597–1625) published during Bacon's lifetime. The textual apparatus includes a comprehensive, chronological record of the substantive readings of all these manuscripts and editions, so that for the first time the evolution of Bacon's text from the ten essays of 1597 to the fifty-eight essays of 1625 can be studied conveniently in detail. Thorough analysis of the treatment of Bacon's text in the printing-house includes an account of the stop-press corrections discovered through collation of multiple copies of the principal editions of 1597, 1612, and 1625 (the copy-text of the present edition), and presents evidence for Bacon's participation in 1625. A text of the posthumously published fragment 'Of Fame' is included, and there is also a discussion of the spirited controversy over publication rights in the early seventeenth century.

Introductions to the essays set them in the context of the 'Advice to Princes' tradition, relate them to events of Bacon's public career, discuss their evolution over thirty years, and elucidate the prose style and form that they finally took. An extensive commentary examines classical and Renaissance sources and relates the essays to Bacon's other writings, including his correspondence. There is also a Glossary and an Index.

Michael Kiernan is an Associate Professor of English Literature at The Pennsylvania State University.

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Civill and Morall*

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY
BY

MICHAEL KIERNAN

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PREFACE

THE present edition attempts to fill the need for a critical, unmodernized edition of Bacon's *Essayes*. It is based upon (1) an examination and collation of the extant manuscripts and the thirteen editions (1597-1625) published during Bacon's lifetime, and (2) a thorough bibliographical analysis of the treatment of Bacon's text in the Renaissance printing-house.

Examination of primary Bacon material at first hand has been made possible by generous research support: a Charles Dexter Traveling Fellowship, a Folger Shakespeare Library Fellowship, National Endowment for the Humanities Senior Research Fellowships to the Folger Library and the Henry E. Huntington Library, two grants-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies, and a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, as well as support by the Pennsylvania State University through Faculty Fellowships from the Institute for Arts and Humanistic Studies, a research term from the Department of English, sabbatical leave of six months, and, finally, from the Liberal Arts Research Office, funds for photostats, microfilms, computer time, and travel.

Publication of this volume has been aided by a grant from the Hyder Edward Rollins Fund.

My research has been facilitated throughout by the unfailing courtesy and co-operation of the librarians and staff of the following collections: the Francis Bacon Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Houghton Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the Pattee Rare Books Library of the Pennsylvania State University; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the North Library and Manuscripts Room of the British Library, Cambridge University Library; the libraries of Trinity College and Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Durham University Library; Lambeth Palace Library; the Public Record Office; and the Sterling Library of London University. My thanks also to the numerous librarians who answered queries by post.

I am indebted to the following individuals and libraries for permission to collate their manuscripts and printed editions: the Chapin Library, Williams College; the William Andrews Clark Library; the Folger Shakespeare Library; the Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation, Inc.; Harvard College Library; the Henry E. Huntington Library; the Lehigh University Library; the Newberry Library; the Pierpont Morgan Library; Yale University Library; the Bodleian Library and the Queen's College, Oxford; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; Christ's College, Emmanuel College, King's College, St. John's College, Cambridge, the Masters and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; F. H. M. FitzRoy Newdegate, Esq.; His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library; Nottingham University Library; the Public Record Office; the Somerset Record Office; the Sterling Library of London University; and Westminster Abbey Library.

I am also indebted to the following for their interest and encouragement; David and Patricia Herlihy and Mather House, Harvard; Allan Holaday; John MacGregor; Charles W. Mann; Katharine F. Pantzer; A. J. Sambrook; John Hazel Smith; Kaela, Ollie, and Funf; and especially, my parents, Dorothy and Terence Kiernan.

Herschel C. Baker, William H. Bond, and Gwynne Blake-more Evans, mentors and patient friends, have nourished and improved the edition over many years as have, more recently, three Huntington Fellows, G. E. Bentley, Paul Christianson, and Edmund S. Morgan, who kindly read sections of the 'Commentary'.

My thanks also to Maud E. Wilcox of Harvard University Press, whose transatlantic child this is, and to the staff of Oxford University Press, particularly John Waś.

My greatest debt is to Nancy Ellen, for her loving and unstinting encouragement and for her intelligent and substantive contributions.

The dedication leaf (from both of us) inadequately acknowledges many years of scholarly witness and support.

Finally, for the faults and limitations of this work I must place myself with Bacon, 'most humbly craving pardon for

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any errors committed in this writing which the same weakness of judgement which suffered me to commit them would not suffer me to discover'.

M.K.

University Park, Pennsylvania

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Leaf from BL MS Harleian 5106 (fo. 20), showing
Bacon's holograph additions.

By permission of the British Library

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REFERENCES, ABBREVIATIONS, AND SYMBOLS

THE following abbreviations are used for titles of Bacon's works frequently cited in the Commentary:

<i>AL</i>	<i>Advancement of Learning</i>
<i>Ant. R.</i>	<i>Antitheta Rerum in De Augmentis</i>
<i>Apoph.</i>	<i>Apophthegms New and Old</i>
<i>De Aug.</i>	<i>De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum</i>
<i>Henry 7</i>	<i>History of the Reign of King Henry VII</i>
<i>Nov. Org.</i>	<i>Novum Organum</i>
<i>Promus</i>	<i>Promus of Formularies</i>
<i>Sylva</i>	<i>Sylva Sylvarum; or a Natural History</i>

Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Bacon's writings are taken from *The Works of Francis Bacon*, edd. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, fourteen vols. (London, 1857-74), and are cited by volume and page (iii. 167; xiv. 206-45). Latin works are quoted in Spedding's translations with citation of Latin text given in a following parenthesis: *De Aug.* v. 40 (i. 754), *Wisdom*, vi. 714 (741). Reference to individual essays in the present edition is by essay number (in small capitals) and line number (XLI. 23-56). Biblical quotations are from the Authorized Version, checked against the Vulgate, Bishops' Geneva, Douai, and Rheims versions, which are quoted as relevant.

The abbreviations used for extant manuscripts and editions will be found in the List of Sigla on pp. xvii-xviii.

The following abbreviations are used for earlier editions of Bacon's essays:

Abbot	<i>Bacon's Essays</i> , ed. Edwin A. Abbott, two vols. (1899)
Harmony	<i>A Harmony of the Essays</i> , ed. Edward Arber (Westminster, 1895)
Markby	<i>The Essays or Counsels, Civill and Morall</i> , ed. Thomas Markby (London, 1853)
Reynolds	<i>The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral</i> , ed. Samuel Harvey Reynolds (Oxford, 1890)
Scott	<i>The Essays of Francis Bacon</i> , ed. Mary Augusta Scott (New York, 1908)
Singer	<i>The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral with the Wisdom of Ancients</i> , ed. S. W. Singer (London, 1856)
Wright	<i>Bacon's Essays and Colours of Good and Evil</i> , ed. W. Aldis Wright, 3rd edn. (London and Cambridge, 1865)

Other references:

- Akrigg G. P. V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963)
- Arber Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, five vols. (London, 1875-94)
- Aubrey John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Dick (London, 1949)
- Beal Peter Beal (comp.), *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, i. 1450-1625 (London and New York, 1980)
- Briquet C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, ed. A. H. Stevenson, four vols. (Amsterdam, 1968)
- Chamberlain, *Letters* The *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, two vols. (Philadelphia, 1939)
- Chapman, *The Comedies* *The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies*, gen. ed. Allan Holaday; assisted by Michael Kiernan (Urbana, 1970)
- Churchill *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1935; repr. 1967)
- Craven W. F. Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (New York, 1932)
- Gibson R. W. Gibson, *Francis Bacon: A Bibliography of his Works and Baconiana to the Year 1750* (Oxford: Scrivener Press, 1950); *Supplement* (1959).
- Gilbert Allan Gilbert, trans. Machiavelli, *The Chief Works and Others*, three vols. (Durham, NC, 1965)
- Heawood E. Heawood, *Watermarks mainly in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950; repr. Amsterdam, 1970)
- Jackson William Jackson, *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature 1475-1700*, i (New York, 1940)
- Jonson, *Works* *Ben Jonson*, edd. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, eleven vols. (Oxford, 1925-52)
- Knolles Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603)
- Larkin and Hughes James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (edd.), *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625* (Oxford, 1973)
- Marwil Jonathan Marwil, *The Trials of Counsel: Francis Bacon in 1621* (Detroit, 1976)
- Migne, *PL* J. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844-91) [references to volume and column]

- Montaigne Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes, or morall, politike discourses*, trans. John Florio (London, 1603)
- Plutarch, *Lives* Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes compared*, trans. Sir Thomas North (London, 1579)
- Plutarch, *Morals* Plutarch, *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1603)
- Report of Cases* *Report of Cases Decided by Francis Bacon in the High Court of Chancery (1617-21)*, ed. John Ritchie (London, 1932)
- Sabol A. J. Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence, RI, 1978)
- Shakespeare *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston, 1974)
- Stone Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965)
- Strong Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London, 1979)
- Tilley M. P. Tilley (comp.), *Dictionary of Proverbs in English in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950)
- Vickers Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge, 1968)
- Wing D. G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales . . . 1641-1700*, three vols (New York, 1945); rev. edn., vol. i (1972); vol. ii (1982)
- HLQ *Huntington Library Quarterly*
- JEGP *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
- JHI *Journal of the History of Ideas*
- MLN *Modern Language Notes*
- MLQ *Modern Language Quarterly*
- NQ *Notes and Queries*
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (1970)
- ODEP *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn. (1970)
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*
- Revised STC Katharine F. Pantzer et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland . . . 1475-1640*; second edition, revised and enlarged of STC, vol. ii, I-Z (London, 1976)
- SB *Studies in Bibliography*
- SP *Studies in Philology*
- SQ *Shakespeare Quarterly*
- STC A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland . . . 1475-1640* (London, 1926)

TLS *The Times Literary Supplement*
WMQ *William and Mary Quarterly*

(c) or (corr.)	corrected forme
cw	catchword
fo(s)	folio(s)
(i)	inner forme
(o)	outer forme
subs.	substantially
(u)	uncorrected forme
Σ	indicates agreement among all manuscripts cited
~	(i) 'corresponding to', e.g. '~XLI', '~LII'; (used in Introductions to facilitate cross-reference to the Historical Collation and Commentary)
	(ii) indicates agreement with the lemma (used in recording emendations of the accidentals; e.g. 'both,] ~;')
	indicates absence of punctuation in variant; e.g. 'both,] ~^'

LIST OF SIGLA

(i) Manuscripts of the 1597 *Essayes*

- C* Cambridge University Library, MS Nn. 4. 5
H62 British Library, MS Harleian 6265
H67 British Library, MS Harleian 6797 ['Faction' (~ LI), 'Negotiating' (~ XLVII)]
L British Library, MS Lansdowne 775
T Trinity College Library, Cambridge, MS O. 4. 52

(ii) Manuscript of thirty-four essays

- H51* British Library, MS Harleian 5106

(iii) Manuscripts of the 1625 *Essayes*

- Cl A* Nottingham University Library, MS Clifton Cl. Lm. 5
 ['Of Adversity' (V), 'Of Revenge' (IIII), 'Of Delays' (XXI), 'Of Innovations' (XXIII)]
Cl B Nottingham University Library, MS Clifton Cl. Lm. 5
 [another copy]
Cn Public Record Office, SP 14/140/60, Conway Papers ['Of Usurie' (XLI)]
De Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 51, item 12
 ['Of Seditions and Troubles' (XV)]
Ph Somerset Record Office, MS Phelps DD/PH 221, item 41
 ['Of Revenge' (IIII), 'Of Adversity' (V), 'Of Delays' (XXI), 'Of Innovations' (XXIII)]
Pu Public Record Office, SP 14/205/37 ['Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates' (XXIX)]
Qu The Queen's College, Oxford, MS 121 ['Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates' (XXIX)]

(iv) Printed Editions

- 97a* 1597, *STC* 1137
97b 1597, Revised *STC* 1137.5
98 1598, *STC* 1138
06 1606, *STC* 1139
12a 1612, Revised *STC* 1139.5
12b 1612, *STC* 1141
12c 1612, Revised *STC* 1141.5
13a 1613, *STC* 1142
13b 1613 [i.e. c.1615-18], *STC* 1143

- 13c 1613 [i.e. c.1615-24], *STC* 1144
 14 1614 [Edinburgh], *STC* 1145
 24 1624, *STC* 1146
 25 1625, *STC* 1147, 1148
 38 (Latin) *Sermones Fideles*, in *F. Baconi operum moralium et civilium*
 tomus (1638), *STC* 1109

THE ^{XVII. 36. 14}
ESSAYES
OR ^{LE. 7. 31}
COVNSELS,
CIVILL AND
MORALL,
OF ^{W. J. 15}
FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,
VISCOVNT S^c. ALBAN.

Newly enlarged.

Jo. Finch



Ex dono Authoris.

30. Marty. 1625.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD
WHITAKER, and are to be sold
at the signe of the Kings head in
Pauls Church-yard. 1625.

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[(a)1]

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TO
THE RIGHT
HONORABLE MY
VERY GOOD LO. THE DUKE

[A3]

of *Buckingham* his Grace, LO.

5

High *Admirall* of *England*.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment*;
And I assure my selfe, such wil your *Graces* Name bee,
with | Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, have [A3^v]
beene Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like 11
to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes*; which, of all my other
workes, have beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they
come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I have enlarged
them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed 15
a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my
Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your
Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I
doe conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the
Universall Language) may | last, as long as Bookes last. My [A4]
Instauration, I dedicated to the *King*: My *Historie* of 21
HENRY *the Seventh*, (which I have now also translated into
Latine) and my *Portions of Naturall History*, to the *Prince*:
And these I dedicate to your *Grace*; Being of the best Fruits,
that by the good Encrease, which *God* gives to my Pen and 25
Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

*Your Graces most Obliged and
faithfull Servant,*

FR. St. ALBAN.

Of Truth.

I.

[B1]

What is Truth; said jesting *Pilate*; And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddinesse; And count it a Bondage, to fix a Beleeve; Affecting Free-will in 5 Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not | onely the Difficultie, and Labour, [B1^v] which Men take in finding out of *Truth*; Nor againe, that 11 when it is found, it imposeth upon mens Thoughts; that doth bring *Lies* in favour: But a naturall, though corrupt Love, of the *Lie* it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what 15 should be in it, that men should love *Lies*; Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth*, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of 20 the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever adde Pleasure. Doth any man 25 doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering | Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations [B2] as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and displeasing to themselves? One 30 of the Fathers, in great Severity, called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum*; because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. 35

But howsoever these things are thus, in mens depraved Judgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth judge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Love-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleeve of *Truth*, which is the Enjoying of it; is the Sovereigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke, ever since, [B2^v] is the | Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, upon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Adventures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, upon the vantage ground of Truth:* (A hill not to be commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene;) *And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below:* So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans Minde Move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles of *Truth*.

[B3] To passe from Theologicall, and Philo-|sophicall *Truth*, to the *Truth* of civill Businesse; It will be acknowledged, even by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round dealing, is the Honour of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Silver; which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth so cover a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigny* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God, and*

a Coward towards men. For a Lie faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the | Judgements of God, upon [B3^v] the Generations of Men, It being foretold, that when Christ 80 commeth, *He shall not finde Faith upon the Earth.*

Emendation of Accidentals. 21 Candlelights] Candle-|lights 25 66 Silver;]
25(c); ~, 25(u)

Of Death.

II.

Men feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of *Death*, as the 5 *wages of sinne*, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a man should 10 thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he have but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tor-|tured; And thereby imagine, [B4] what the Paines of *Death* are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolved; when many times, *Death* passeth with lesse paine, then the Torture of a Limme: For the most 15 vitall parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa*. Groanes and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. 20 It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare

1 Of Death.] *essay not in 97a-12a* 2 II.] 33. H51; 2. 12b-24
3 Children] the Children H51 (the *deleted Hand A*) 5-7 Contemplation
... Religious;] feare of death in [is 13a-24] contemplation of the cause of it, and
the issue of it [issue of 13b, 13c, 24], is religious: 12b (H51)-24 7 as ...
Nature] for it selfe 12b (H51)-24 8 is sometimes] is 12b (H51)-24
16-17 by ... onely] to speake 12b (H51)-24 17 and] or 12b (H51)-24
22 it ... Masters] masters 12b (H51)-24

of *Death*: And therefore *Death*, is no such terrible *Enemie*,
 when a man hath so many *Attendants*, about him, that can
 25 winne the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*;
Love slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; [delivery from *Ignominy*
 chuseth it;] *Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* pre-occupateth it; Nay
 we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had slaine himselfe, *Pitty*
 [B4^v] (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked | many to
 30 die, out of meere compassion to their *Soveraigne*, and as the
 truest sort of *Followers*. Nay *Seneca* addes *Nicenesse* and
Saciety; *Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle, non*
tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiàm Fastidiosus potest.
 A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor
 35 miserable, onely upon a wearinesse to doe the same thing,
 so oft over and over. It is no lesse worthy to observe, how
 little *Alteration*, in good *Spirits*, the *Approaches* of *Death*
 make; For they appeare, to be the same *Men*, till the last
 Instant. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a *Complement*; *Livia*,
 40 *Conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale. Tiberius* in dissimulation;
 As *Tacitus* saith of him; *Iam Tiberium Vires, et Corpus, non*
Dissimulatio, deserebant. Vespasian in a *Jest*; Sitting upon
 the *Stoole*, *Ut puto Deus fio. Galba* with a *Sentence*; *Feri,*
si ex re sit populi Romani; Holding forth his *Necke. Septimius*
 45 *Severus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.*
 And the like. Certainly, the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost
 [C1] upon *Death*, and by their great pre-|parations, made it
 appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ*
extremum inter Munera ponat Naturæ. It is as *Naturall* to
 50 die, as to be borne; And to a little *Infant*, perhaps, the one,

26-7 delivery . . . it;] 12b (H51)-24; not in 25

23 such terrible] such 12b (H51)-24 24 Attendants] followers 12b
 (H51)-24 25 him] it H51 26 slights it] esteemes it not 12b
 (H51)-24 26-7 delivery . . . it;] 12b (H51)-24; not in 25 28 reade]
 see 12b (H51)-13c, 24: say 14 *Otho* the Emperour] *Otho* 12b (H51)-24
 30-1 out . . . Followers.] not in 12b (H51)-24 31-2 Nay . . . *Saciety*]
Seneca speaketh of nicenesse 12b (H51)-24 34-6 A . . . over.] not in 12b
 (H51)-24 38 For . . . Men] but they are the same 12b (H51)-24
 38-9 last Instant] last 12b (H51)-24 39-40 *Livia*, . . . *vale.*] not in 12b (H51)-
 24 41-2 As . . . *deserebant.*] not in 12b (H51)-24 42-3 Sitting
 . . . *fio.*] not in 12b (H51)-24 43-4 *Feri*, . . . *Necke.*] not in 12b (H51)-
 24 44-5 *Septimius* . . . dispatch;] *Septimus* 12b (ink corr. to *Septimius*
 in 10 of 15 copies); not in H51 45 *Adeste*, . . . *agendum.*] not in 12b (H51)-24
 48 more] most 12c

is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce fees the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the Dolors of *Death*: But above all, beleeeve it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*; when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envie.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

51 is as] as 12b (H51)-13a, 14
(H51)-24

51-9 He . . . *idem.*] not in 12b

Emendation of Accidentals. 18 *ipsa.*] *ipsa* 25

54 somewhat] ~, 25

Of Unity in Religion. III.

[C1^v]

Religion being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing, when it selfe, is well contained, within the true 5 Band of *Unity*. The Quarrels, and Divisions about *Religion*, were Evils unknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the *Religion* of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleefe. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe 10 Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a *Jealous God*; And therefore, his worship and *Religion*, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Uni-ty* of the *Church*; *What are the Fruits* [C2] *thereof*; *what the Bounds*; *And what the Meanes*? 16

1-2 Of Unity in Religion.] *essay not in 97a-H51*; Of Religion. 12b-24
3 III.] 1 12b-24 4-6 Religion . . . *Unity.*] not in 12b-24 6 Divisions]
division 13b about] for 12b-24 7-11 The . . . Poets.] and no
marvell; 12b-24 11-12 But . . . a] for it is the true God that is the 12b-24
12-124 And . . . Men.] and the gods of the Heathen were good fellows. But yet
the bonds of religious unity, are so to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane
society be not dissolved. 12b-24

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are *without the Church*; The Other, towards those, *that are*
 20 *within*. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall. So that nothing, doth so much
 25 keepe Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of *Unity*: And therefore, whensoever it commeth to that passe, that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto*; Another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conventicles of Heretikes, and others,
 30 in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Mens Eares, *Nolite exire, Goe not*
 [C2^v] *out*. | The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to have a speciall care of those *without*) saith; *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with*
 35 *severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in *Religion*; It doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners*.
 40 It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; *The morris daunce of Heretikes*. For indeed, every Sect of them, hath a Divers
 45 Posture, or Cringe by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraved Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within*; It is *Peace*;
 [C3] which containeth | infinite Blessings; It establisheth Faith;
 50 It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours of Writing, and Reading of Controversies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Devotion.

Concerning the *Bounds of Unity*; The true Placing of
 55 them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine *Zelants* all Speech of Pacification

is odious. *Is it peace Jehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? Turne thee behinde me. Peace* is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiceans*, and Luke-warme Persons, thinke they may accommodate 60 Points of *Religion*, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himselfe, were in the two 65 crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and | plainly expounded; *He* [C3^v] *that is not with us, is against us*: And againe; *He that is not against us, is with us*: That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, 70 Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triviall, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Advice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, 75 by two kinds of Controversies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controverted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat, and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seame: But the Churches Vesture was of divers* 80 *colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit*; They be two Things, *Unity*, and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the Matter of | the Point Controverted is [C4] great; but it is driven to an over-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Sub- 85 stantiall. A man that is of Judgement and understanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Judgement, which is betweene 90 Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God above, that knowes the Heart, doth discerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature of such Controversies, is excellently

95 expressed, by St. *Paul*, in the Warning and Precept, that he
 giveth, concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum Novitates,*
et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ. Men create Opposi-
 tions, which are not; And put them into new termes, so
 fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to governe the Terme,
 [C4^v] the Terme in effect | governeth the Meaning. There be also
 101 two false *Peaces*, or *Unities*; The one, when the *Peace* is
 grounded, but upon an implicite ignorance, For all Colours
 will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced up,
 upon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall
 105 Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the
Iron and Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezers Image; They
 may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the *Meanes of procuring Unity*; Men must
 beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious*
 110 *Unity*, they doe not Dissolve and Deface the Lawes of
 Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords
 amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both
 have their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of
Religion. But we may not take up the Third sword, which
 115 is Mahomets Sword, or like unto it; That is, to propagate
Religion, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force
 [D1] Consciences; except it be in cases of Overt Scan-|dall, Blas-
 phemy, or Intermixture of Practize, against the State; Much
 lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and
 120 Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And
 the like; Tending to the Subversion of all Government,
 which is the Ordinance of God. For this is, but to dash the
 first Table, against the Second; And so to consider Men as
 Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the
 125 Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could
 endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had knowne of the Massacre
 in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have

125-6 that . . . owne] induring and assisting at the sacrifice of his 12b-24
 126 exclaimed] concludes with this verse 12b-24 128 What] But what
 12b-24 said] done 12b-24 knowne of] knowne 12b-24 129 in]
 of 12b-24 He] Certainly he 12b-24

beene, Seven times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. 130
 For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, with great
 circumspection, in Cases of *Religion*; So it is a thing
 monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People.
 Let that bee left unto the Ana-|baptists, and other Furies. [D1^v]
 It was great Blasphemy, when the Devill said; *I will ascend*, 135
and be like the Highest; But it is greater Blasphemy, to
 personate God, and bring him in saying; *I will descend*, *and*
be like the Prince of Darknesse; And what is it better, to
 make the cause of *Religion*, to descend, to the cruell and
 execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of 140
 People, and Subversion of States, and Governments? Surely,
 this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse
 of a Dove, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Raven: And to set,
 out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque
 of Pirats, and *Assassins*. Therefore it is most necessary, that 145
 the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword;
 And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their
 Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for ever, those
 Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same;
 As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, 150
 Concerning *Religion*, that | Counsel of the Apostle would [D2]
 be prefixed; *Ira hominis non implet Justiciam Dei*. And it

131-4 For . . . Furies.] Nay, hee would rather have chosen to be one of the
 Mad men of *Munster*, then to have beene a partaker of those Counsels. For it is
 better that Religion should deface mens understanding, then their piety and
 charitie; retaining reason onely but as an *Engine*, and *Charriot driver* of cruelty,
 and malice. 12b-24 135 great] a great 12b-24 136 greater] a
 greater 12b-24 136-7 to . . . saying] if they make God to say 12b-24
 138-9 what . . . make] it is no better, when they make 12b-24 139 to
 descend] descend 12b-24 139-40 cruell and execrable] execrable 12b-24
 140 Murthering] murthering of 12b-24 141 Subversion . . . Governments?]
 firing of States. 12b-24 141-2 Surely, . . . Ghost,] Neither is there such
 a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally)
 as 12b-24 143 Dove,] *Dove*, to bring him downe 12b-24 Shape]
 likenesse 12b-24 And to set] nor such a scandall to their Church, as 12b-24
 144 a Christian Church, a] Saint *Peter*, to set forth the 12b-24 Barque] Barge
 12b; Barke (*ink corr. in 11 of 15 copies of 12b*), 13a-24 145-50 it . . .
 done,] since these things are the common enemies of humane society; *Princes* by
 their power; *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian, morall, of
 what soever sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to joyne in the dam-
 ning to Hell for ever, these facts, and their supports: 12b-24 150 Surely
 in] and in all 12b-24 151 that] the 13c, 24 152-6 And . . . ends.]
 not in 12b-24

was a notable Observation, of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed; *That those, which held and perswaded, pressure of Consciencs, were commonly interessd therin, themselves, for their owne ends.*

Emendation of Accidentals. 52 Labours] ~, 25

58 Turne] turne 25

Of Revenge.

III.

Revenge is a kinde of Wilde Justice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as
 5 for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the *Revenge* of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking *Revenge*, A Man is but even with his Enemy; But in passing it over, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And *Salomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.* That which |
 10 [D2^v] is past, is gone, and Irrevocable; And wise Men have Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake; But therby
 15 to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no
 20 other. The most Tolerable Sort of *Revenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man

18 why yet] why? yet 25

1 Of Revenge.] *Cl A, Cl B, Ph; essay not in 97a-24* 4 weed] roote
Ph 5-6 the *Revenge*] *Revenge Cl A, Cl B, Ph* 6 of that wrong,
 putteth] puts *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* 9-10 And *Salomon, . . . offence.] om. Cl A,*
Cl B, Ph 11 gone, and Irrevocable] no more *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* 14 for
 the] for a *Ph* 15 purchase] purchase to *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* himselfe]
 himself either *Cl A* or Pleasure] Pleasure *Cl A* 17 mee?] me, he y^t
 bestowes [bestwoth *Ph*] a benefitt parts [parteth *Ph*] with somewhatt and therfore
 deserveth thanks but he that doeth an Injury gets somewhat and therfore may y^e
 better be borne with *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* And] but *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* should doe]
 doe *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* 18 why yet] not in *Cl A, Cl B* the Thorn] a thorn *Ph*

take heed, the *Revenge* be such, as there is no law to punish:
 Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for
 one. Some, when they take *Revenge*, are Desirous the party
 should know, whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. 25
 For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the
 Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base | and Crafty [D3]
 Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke.
Cosmus Duke of *Florence*, had a Desperate Saying, against
 Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were 30
 unpardonable: *You shall reade* (saith he) *that we are com-*
manded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read, that wee
are commanded, to forgive our Friends. But yet the Spirit of
Job, was in a better tune; *Shall wee* (saith he) *take good at*
Gods Hands, and not be content to take evill also? And so of 35
 Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that
 studieth *Revenge*, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which
 otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique *Revenues*,
 are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death
 of *Cæsar*; For the Death of *Pertinax*; for the Death of 40
Henry the Third of France; And many more. But in private
Revenues it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons live
 the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischievous, So end
 they Infortunate. |

23 before hand] aforehand *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* it] that *Cl A, Cl B* 24 are
 Desirous] desire *Cl A, Cl B* 25 whence] from whence *Cl A, Cl B* commeth]
 was *Cl A, Cl B* 26 seemeth] seemes *Cl A, Cl B* to be] not in *Cl A,*
Cl B 27 repent] to repent *Cl A, Cl B* 28 Darke.] darke. Injuries
 from frinds doe wound most because their blow strikes wher we are not armed
Cl A, Cl B 29-35 *Cosmus* . . . proportion.] not in *Ph* 29 *Cosmus*]
 therefore *Cosmus Cl A, Cl B* 29-31 had a Desperate Saying, . . . unpardon-
 able] was wont to say that *Cl A, Cl B* 31 *You shall reade* (saith he)] we
 read, *Cl A, Cl B* that we] we *Cl B* 32 *you never*] we doe not
Cl A, Cl B that wee] we *Cl A, Cl B* 33-6 yet the Spirit . . . proportion.]
 it was a better spiritt y^t said (if we translate in a proportion the speach from god
 to man) *shall we take good from our frinds and not ill* [non Ill B] also *Cl A, Cl B*
 37 studieth] studies *Cl A, Cl B* Wounds] wound *Cl A, Cl B* 40 *Pertinax*]
Partinax Cl A, Cl B 41 *Henry*] He. *Cl A; H. Cl B* 43 end] are *Cl A,*
Cl B, Ph 44 Infortunate] unfortunate *Cl A, Cl B*

[D3^v]

Of Adversitie.

V.

It was an high speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity,*
 5 *are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Adversity,*
are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia;
Adversarum, Mirabilia. Certainly if Miracles, be the Command
 over Nature, they appeare most in Adversity. It is yet a
 higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for
 10 a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to have in one, the Frailty*
of a Man, and the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere
Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei. This would have done
 better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed.
 [D4] And the Poets indeed, have beene | busy with it; For it is,
 15 in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction,
 of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without
 mystery; Nay, and to have some approach, to the State of
 a Christian: That *Hercules, when hee went to unbinde*
Prometheus, (by whom Humane Nature is represented)
 20 *sailed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or*
Pitcher: Lively describing Christian Resolution; that saileth,
 in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waves of the
 World. But to speake in a Meane. The Vertue of *Prosperitie,*
 is Temperance; The Vertue of *Adversity,* is Fortitude: which
 25 in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. *Prosperity* is the
 Blessing of the Old Testament; *Adversity* is the Blessing of
 the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the

1 Of Adversitie.] Cl A, Cl B, Ph; essay not in 97a-24 3 an] a Cl A,
 Cl B, Ph 4-6 the good . . . admired.] not in Cl A, Cl B 5 that]
 wch Ph 6-7 Bona . . . Mirabilia.] not in Ph 7 the Command]
 commaunders Ph 7-9 the Command . . . speech] the speach Cl A, Cl B
 8 a] an Ph 9 of his] not in Ph (much too] (too Ph 10-11 It
 . . . a God.] not in Cl A, Cl B 11-12 Verè magnum, . . . Dei.] not in Ph
 11 Verè magnum, habere] Illud magnum est habere Cl A, Cl B 14 And
 . . . it;] not in Cl A, Cl B, Ph For] and Cl A, Cl B, Ph 15 the thing,
 which is] not in Cl A, Cl B, Ph that] the Cl A, Cl B, Ph 16 seemeth]
 seemes Cl A, Cl B 17 mystery] a misterie Cl A, Cl B 22 Barke]
 Barge Cl A, Cl B; Barque Ph 25 more Heroicall] higher Cl A, Cl B, Ph
 26-8 Adversity . . . old Testament,] not in Ph

Clearer Revelation of Gods Favour. Yet, even in the old Testament, if you Listen to *Dauids* Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of *Job*, then the Felicities of *Salomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Feares and Distastes; And *Adversity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes, and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing, to have a Lively Worke, upon a Sad and Solemne Ground; then to have a Darke and Melancholy Worke, upon a Lightsome Ground: Judge therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice; But *Adversity* doth best discover Vertue.

28 Clearer] greater *Cl A, Cl B* 28-9 even . . . Harpe,] if you listen to
 dauids harpe even in the ould testament *Cl A, Cl B* 30 as many . . . as]
 more . . . then *Cl A, Cl B, Ph* 31-2 Afflictions] affliction *Cl A, Cl B*
 32 Felicities] felicitie *Cl A, Cl B* 33 Distastes] distates *Ph* is] not
 in *Ph* 35 Imbroideries] imbroyderie *Cl A* pleasing] pleasure *Cl A, Cl B*
 36 Solemne] sullen *Ph* 39 Certainly] Certayn *Ph* 40 incensed]
 most incensed *Cl A* or] and *Ph* 42 Vertue.] Vertue. The weaknes of
 the minde of man is often particular and respective so as some Natures are lesse
 tollerant of some evils. Some cannot endure Want as if men were borne roabed.
 Some cannot endure to brooke the speech of the people having laid up their
 treasure very looselie in mens mouthes, Chests y^t are alwaies open. Some cannot
 suffer disgrace and wheras it is in mens owne power to bi [be *Cl B*] gold and silver
 they yeild themselves to be base mony currant by stamp or casting counters as
 men please to sett them. Some greive at losse of place or Honor as if in the *Vale*
 were not as good dwellinge. some mens harts dye within them if they faile of
 their hopes or purposes, and mean while forget y^t it was themselves y^t did sett
 themselves those tasks. Some be impatient of payne of Bodye as if they would
 blaspheme Nature and call her *Tyrant* or stepdame or y^e like. But mortall men
 ought alwaies to turne their faces towards *Gods Providence* and bowe before it
 knowinge y^t to mindes well established is ever granted either place or victorie.
Cl A, Cl B

[E1]

Of Simulation
And
Dissimulation.
VI.

5 *Dissimulation* is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdome; For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it. Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus saith; *Livia sorted well, with the Arts of her*
 10 *Husband, and Dissimulation of her Sonne: Attributing Arts*
or Policy to Augustus, and Dissimulation to Tiberius. And againe, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian*, to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith; *We rise not, against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Close-*
 [E1^v] *nesse of Tiberius.* These Properties | of *Arts* or *Policy*, and
 16 *Dissimulation* or *Closenesse*, are indeed Habits and Faculties, severall, and to be distinguished. For if a Man, have that Penetration of Judgment, as he can discern, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be
 20 shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him, A Habit of *Dissimulation*, is a Hindrance, and a Poorenesse. But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Judgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and
 25 a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that ever were, have had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name
 30 of Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well mannaged; For they could tell passing well, when to
 [E2] stop, or turne: And at such times, when they | thought the Case indeed, required *Dissimulation*, if then they used it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spread abroad of
 35 their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Invisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe. The first *Clothesse*, *Reservation*, and *Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himselfe without Observation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second *Dis-* 40
simulation, in the *Negative*; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the *Affirmative*; when a Man industriously, and expressly, feigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed, the Vertue 45
of a Confessour; And assuredly, the *Secret* Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth Discoverie; As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Revealing is not for worldly 50
use, but for the | Ease of a Mans Heart, so *Secret* Men come [E2^v]
to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say Truth) *Nakednesse* is uncomely, as well in Minde, as Body; 55
and it addeth no small Reverence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therefore set it downe; *That an* 60
Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall. And in this Part, it is good, that a Mans Face, give his Tongue, leave to Speake. For the Discovery, of a Mans Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleaved, then 65
a Mans words.

For the Second, which is *Dissimulation*. It followeth many times upon *Secrecy*, by a necessity: So that, he that will be *Se-cret*, must be a *Dissembler*, in some degree. For Men [E3]
are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent 70
carriage, betweene both, and to be *Secret*, without Swaying the Ballance, on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination,

52 to the Knowledge] to the Knowledg e 25 (*first-state corr.*); to Knowledge 25(u)

75 one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he give himselfe a little Scope of *Dissimulation*; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Train of *Secrecy*.

80 But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Feareful-
 85 nesse; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults; which
 [E3^v] because a man must | needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of ure.

The great *Advantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation*
 90 are three. First to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call up, all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat: For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take
 95 a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverbe of the Spaniard;
 100 *Tell a lye, and finde a Troth*. As if there were no way of Discovery, but by *Simulation*. There be also three *Disadvantages*, to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Shew of
 [E4] Fearfulnesse, which in a|ny Businesse, doth spoile the
 105 Feathers, of round flying up to the Mark. The second, that it pusleth and perplexeth the Conceits of many; that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walke, almost alone, to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man, of one of the most
 110 principall Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Beleeffe*. The best Composition, and Temperature is, to have *Opennesse* in Fame and Opinion; *Secrecy* in Habit; *Dissimulation* in seasonable use; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 12 encourageth] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Encourageth
 25(u) 71 both,] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~; 25(u) 76 Silence,] 25
 (*first-state corr.*); ~; 25(u) 78 secret,] 25 (*second-state corr.*); secret ^
 25 (*first-state corr.*); secret, 25(u) 109 one] ~, 25

Of Parents and
 Children.
 VII.

[E4^v]

The Joyes of *Parents* are Secret; And so are their Griefes,
 and Feares: They cannot utter the one; Nor they will not 5
 utter the other. *Children* sweeten Labours; But they make
 Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life;
 but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity
 by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and
 Noble workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall 10
 see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, have proceeded
 from *Childlesse Men*; which have sought to expresse the
 Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies have
 failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have
 no | Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, [F1]
 are most Indulgent towards their *Children*; Beholding them, 16
 as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their
 Worke; And so both *Children*, and *Creatures*.

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their
 severall *Children*, is many times unequall; And sometimes 20
 unworthy; Especially in the *mother*; As Salomon saith;
A wise sonne rejoyceth the Father; but an ungracious sonne
shames the Mother. A Man shall see, where there is a House
 full of *Children*, one or two, of the Eldest, respected, and
 the Youngest made wantons; But in the midst, some that 25
 are, as it were forgotten, who, many times, neverthesse,
 prove the best. The Illiberalitie of *Parents*, in allowance
 towards their *Children*, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them

1-2 Of Parents and Children.] *essay not in 97a-12a* 3 VII.] 23. H51;
 6. 12b-24 9-20 Beasts; . . . sometimes] H51 damaged by fire (see the
Textual Introduction) 9 Merit] and meritt H51 10-15 And . . .
 Posterity.] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 15 Houses] house 12b (H51)-24
 19 in Affection, of] of affection ^ in 12b (H51)-24 25 midst] middle
 12b (H51)-24 26 who, many times] who ^ 12b (H51)-24

base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with
 30 meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they
 come to Plenty: And therefore, the Prooffe is best, when Men
 [F1^v] keepe | their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their
 Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoole-
 masters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation
 35 between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times
 sorteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth
 Families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene
Children, and Nephewes, or neere Kinsfolkes; But so they
 be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not
 40 through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it
 is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew,
 sometimes, resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more then
 his owne *Parent*; As the Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose
 betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane their
 45 Children should take; For then they are most flexible; And
 let them not too much apply themselves, to the Disposition
 of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that,
 which they have most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affec-
 [F2] tion | or Aptnesse of the *Children*, be Extraordinary, then it
 50 is good, not to crosse it; But generally, the Precept is good;
Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet Consuetudo.
Younger Brothers are commonly Fortunate, but seldome or
 never, where the *Elder* are disinherited. |

33-4 (both *Parents*, and . . . Servants)] both *Parents*, . . . servants, 12b (H51
 subs.)-24 38 Kinsfolkes] kinsfolke 12b-24 43-53 Let . . .
 disinherited.] not in 12b (H51)-24

Emendation of Accidentals. 33-4 Schoole-masters] Schoole-ma-|sters 25

[F2^v]

Of Marriage
 And
 Single Life.
 VIII.

5 He that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath given Hostages to
 Fortune; For they are Impediments, to great Enterprises,

1-3 Of Marriage And Single Life.] essay not in 97a-12a
 H51; 5. 12b-24

4 VIII.] 22.

either of Vertue, or Mischiefe. Certainly, the best workes,
 and of greatest Merit for the Publike, have proceeded from
 the *unmarried*, or *Childlesse Men*; which, both in Affection,
 and Meanes, have married and endowed the Publike. Yet 10
 it were great Reason, that those that have *Children*, should
 have greatest care of future times; unto which, they know,
 they must transmit, their dearest pledges. Some there
 are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their Thoughts
 doe end with | themselves, and account future Times, [F3]
 Impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account 16
Wife and *Children*, but as Bills of charges. Nay more, there
 are some foolish rich covetous Men, that take a pride in
 having no *Children*, because they may be thought, so much
 the richer. For perhaps, they have heard some talke; *Such* 20
an one is a great rich Man; And another except to it; *Yea,*
but he hath a great charge of Children: As if it were an
 Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of
 a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfe-pleasing,
 and humorous Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint, 25
 as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters,
 to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends;
 best Masters; best Servants; but not alwayes best Subjects;
 For they are light to runne away; And almost all Fugitives
 are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church 30
 men: For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it
 must first fill a Poole. It is in-|different for Judges and [F3v]
 Magistrates: For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall
 have a Servant, five times worse than a *Wife*. For Souldiers,
 I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatives, put Men 35

7 or] or of H51
 copies, and to merite, in 6 copies)
 in 9 of 15 copies)
 which have sought eternity in memory, and not in posterity; and 12b (H51)-24
 10-13 Yet . . . pledges.] not in 12b (H51)-24
 (H51)-24
 whose 12b (H51)-24
 16 Impertinences] impertinencies H51
 esteeme 12b (H51)-24
 25 restraint] restriction 12b (H51)-24
 29 light] like 13c, 24
 30-42 Church men: . . . Inquisitors)] H51 damaged in fire and many readings
 in doubt

8 Merit] merit; 12b (ink corr. to lemma in 4 of 15
 Publike,] publike 12b (ink corr. to lemma
 9 the *unmarried*] unmarried H51 Men;] men;
 13 Some] Yet some 12b
 14 who though they] that 12b (H51)-24 yet their]
 15 account] doe account 12b (H51 subs.)-24
 other] others 12b-24 account]
 17-23 Nay . . . Riches.] not in 12b (H51)-24
 28 but not] not 12b (H51)-24
 30 doth well with] is proper for 12b (H51)-24

in minde of their *Wives and Children*: And I thinke the
 Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar
 souldier more base. Certainly, *Wife and Children*, are a kinde
 of Discipline of Humanity: And *single Men*, though they be
 40 many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse
 exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and
 hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their
 Tendernesse, is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led
 by Custome, and therfore constant, are commonly loving
 45 *Husbands*; As was said of *Ulysses*; *Vetulam suam prætulit*
Immortalitati. Chast Women are often Proud, and froward,
 as Presuming upon the merit of their Chastity. It is one of the
 best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if
 [F4] She thinke her *Husband* Wise; | which She will never doe,
 50 if She finde him *Jealous*. *Wives* are young Mens Mistresses;
 Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurses. So as a
 Man may have a Quarrell to marry, when he will. But yet, he
 was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the
 Question; When a Man should marry? *A young Man not yet*,
 55 *an Elder Man not at all*. It is often seene, that bad *Husbands*,
 have very good *Wives*; whether it be, that it rayseth the
 Price of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that
 the *Wives* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this never
 failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosing,
 60 against their Friends consent; For then, they will be sure,
 to make good their owne Folly. |

39-41 though . . . they] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 42-3 because . . .
 upon.] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 45 *Vetulam suam*] *Vetulam 12b (H51)-*
24 (Vitulam 13a-24) 48 Bonds] *bandes H51* 51 for middle Age]
 to Men of middle age *H51* 54 *young*] *younger H51* 55-61 It . . .
 Folly.] *not in 12b (H51)-24*

Emendation of Accidentals. 54 marry] 25 (c); mary 25(u) 55 seene,]
 25(c); ~; 25(u)

Of Envy.
IX.

[F4^v]

There be none of the *Affections*, which have beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but *Love*, and *Envy*. They both have vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into 5 Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye; especially upon the presence of the Objects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Envy*, An *Evill Eye*: And the Astrologers, call the evill Influences of 10 the Starrs, *Evill Aspects*; So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of *Envy*, an Ejaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some have beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion | of an [G1] *Envious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* 15 is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; For that sets an Edge upon *Envy*; And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *person Envied*, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not unworthy, to 20 be thought on, in fit place,) wee will handle, what *Persons are apt to Envy others*; *What persons are most Subject to be Envied themselves*; And, *What is the Difference between Publique, and private Envy*.

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever *envieth* 25 Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed upon their owne Good, or upon others Evill; And who wanteth the one, wil prey upon the other; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at even hand, by Depressing an others Fortune. 30

A man that is Busy, and Inquisitive, is commonly *Envious*: For to know | much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, [G1^v] because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Estate: Therefore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking upon the Fortunes of others; Neither can 35

1 Of Envy.] essay not in 97a-24 [lines 90-2 (And . . . Flat) based upon a passage in 12b's 'Of Nobility' which is omitted in the 25 version of that essay]

he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Envy*. For *Envy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus*.

40 Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *envious* towards New Men, when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceit of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and
 45 Bastards, are *Envious*: For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, upon a very brave, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of
 [G2] his Honour: In that | it should be said, that an Eunuch, or
 50 a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agessilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The same, is the Case of Men, that rise after Calamities, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the
 55 times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Levity, and Vaine glory, are ever *Envious*; For they cannot want worke; It being impossible, but many, in some one of
 60 those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *Envied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those
 65 that have beene bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth
 [G2^v] oft-|ner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others: And *Envy* ever redoubleth from
 70 Speech and Fame. *Cains Envy*, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother *Abel*; Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Envy*.

Concerning *those that are more or lesse subject to Envy*:
 75 First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are advanced,

are lesse *envied*. For their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man *Envieth* the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather. Againe, *Envy* is ever joyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selfe; And where there is no Comparison, no *Envy*; And therefore Kings, are not *envied*, 80 but by Kings. Neverthelesse, it is to be noted, that unworthy Persons, are most *envied*, at their first comming in, and afterwards overcome it better; wheras contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most *envied*, when their Fortune con-|tinueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be [G3] the same, yet it hath not the same *Lustre*; For fresh Men 86 grow up, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Bloud, are lesse *envied*, in their Rising: For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And *Envy* is as 90 the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, upon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; then upon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are lesse *envied*, then those that are advanced suddainly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joyned with their Honour, great Travels, 95 Cares, or Perills, are lesse subject to *Envy*. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pittie them sometimes; And *Pitty*, ever healeth *Envy*: Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are ever bemoaning themselves, 100 what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta patimur*. Not that they feele it so, but onely | to abate the Edge of *Envy*. But [G3^v] this is to be understood, of Businesse, that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For Nothing increaseth *Envy* more, then an unnecessary, and Ambitious 105 Ingrossing of Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, then for a great Person, to preserve all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. For by that meanes, there be so many Skreenes betweene him, and *Envy*. 110

Above all, those are most subject to *Envy*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being never well, but while they are shewing, how

91 hotter] more 12b (H51)-24
(H51)-24

92 Flat] levell 12b (H51)-24

91-2 Bank . . . rising] rising 12b

great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphant
 115 over all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will
 rather doe sacrifice to *Envy*; in suffering themselves, sometimes
 of purpose to be crost, and overborne in things, that doe not
 much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That
 [G4] the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a | plaine and open manner (so
 120 it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse
Envy, then if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For
 in that course, a Man doth but disavow Fortune; And seemeth
 to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but
 teach others to *Envy* him.

125 Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning,
 that the Act of *Envy*, had somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft*; so
 there is no other Cure of *Envy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft*:
 And that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it
 upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great
 130 Persons, bring in ever upon the Stage, some Body, upon
 whom to derive the *Envie*, that would come upon themselves;
 Sometimes upon Ministers, and Servants; Sometimes upon
 Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne,
 there are never wanting, some Persons of violent and
 135 undertaking Natures, who so they may have Power, and
 Businesse, will take it at any Cost. |

[G4^v] Now to speake of Publique *Envy*. There is yet some good
 in *Publique Envy*; whereas in *Private*, there is none. For
Publique Envy is as an *Ostracisme*, that eclipseth Men, when
 140 they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great
 Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This *Envy*, being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the
 Moderne languages, by the name of *Discontentment*: Of
 which we shall speake in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease,
 145 in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth upon
 that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when *Envy*, is gotten
 once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof,
 and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is
 little won by intermingling of plausible Actions. For that
 150 doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of *Envy*; which
 hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usuall in *Infections*;
 which if you feare them, you call them upon you.

This publique *Envy*, seemeth to beat chiefly, upon principall

Officers, or Mi-nisters, rather then upon Kings, and Estates [H1]
 themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Envy* upon the 155
 Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is smal; or if
 the *Envy* be generall, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of
 an Estate; then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the
 State it selfe. And so much of *publike envy* or *discontentment*,
 and the difference therof from *Private Envy*, which was 160
 handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of
Envy; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune,
 and continuall. For of other *Affections*, there is occasion
 given, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, 165
Invidia festos dies non agit. For it is ever working upon some,
 or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy*, doe make
 a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are
 not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most
 depraved; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute of the 170
 Devill, who is called; *The Envious Man, that soweth tares*
amongst the | wheat by night: As it alwayes commeth to [H1^v]
 passe, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to
 the prejudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

Emendation of Accidentals. 34-5 plaie-pleasure] plaie-plea-sure 25
 170 Attribute] ~, 25 172 night:] ~. 25

Of Love.

X.

The Stage is more beholding to *Love*, then the Life of Man.
 For as to the Stage, *Love* is ever matter of Comedies, and
 now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much 5
 mischief: Sometimes like a *Syren*; Sometimes like a *Fury*.
 You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy
 Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or
 Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the
 mad degree of *Love*: | which shewes, that great Spirits, and [H2]

1 Of Love.] essay not in 97a-H51 2 X.] 12. 12b-24 3-24 The
 . . . Purposes.] *Love* is the argument alwaies of *Comedies*, and many times of
Tragedies. Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes
 extreme. 12b-24

11 great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must
 except, neverthesse, *Marcus Antonius* the halfe Partner of
 the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*,
 and Law-giver: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous
 15 Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise
 man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that *Love* can
 finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into
 a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore
 Saying of *Epicurus*; *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum*
 20 *sumus*: As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven,
 and all Noble Objects, should doe nothing, but kneele before
 a little Idoll, and make himselfe subject, though not of the
 Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was given him
 for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse
 25 of this Passion; And how it braves, the Nature, and value of
 [H2V] things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall *Hyper-bole*,
 is comely in nothing, but in *Love*: Neither is it meerely in the
 Phrase; For whereas it hath beene well said, that the Arch-
 flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence,
 30 is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the *Lover* is more. For there was
 never Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the
Lover doth of the Person *loved*: And therefore, it was well
 said; *That it is impossible to love, and to be wise*. Neither
 doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the
 35 Party *Loved*; But to the *Loved*, most of all: except the *Love*
 be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded,
 either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and secret
 Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of
 this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it selfe.
 40 As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure
 them; That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of
Juno, and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of
 [H3] Amorous Affe-ction, quitteth both *Riches*, and *Wisedome*.
 This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse;
 45 which are, great *Prosperitie*; and great *Adversitie*; though this
 latter hath beene lesse observed. Both which times kindle
Love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be

24-6 It . . . that] Extreame it may well bee, since 12b-24
 Love 12b-24 38 more,] more, 13c, 24
 time 24

27 in *Love*]
 44 times]

the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*, yet make it keepe Quarter: And sever it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it 50 checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men, are given to *Love*: I thinke it is, but as they are given to *Wine*; For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Mans 55 Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards *love* of others; which, if it be not spent, upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; As it is seene | sometime [H3^v] in Friars. Nuptiall *love* maketh Mankinde; Friendly *love* 60 perfecteth it; but Wanton *love* Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.

48-9 who, . . . it.] that make this affection 12b-24
12b-24 53-61 I . . . it.] not in 12b-24

50 life] their life

Emendation of Accidentals. 28-9 Arch-flatterer] ~-~ 25

Of Great Place.

XI.

Men in *Great Place*, are thrice *Servants*: Servants of the Sovereigne or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants of 5 Businesse. So as they have no Freedome; neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose Libertie; Or to seeke Power over others, and to loose Power over a Mans Selfe. The Rising unto *Place* is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base; And by Indignities, | 10 Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the [H4] Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cùm non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere*. Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: But are impatient of 15 privatenesse, even in Age, and Sicknesse, which require the

1 Of Great Place.] essay not in 97a-12a
7 lose] leese H51; loose 12c, 13b-13c, 24
leese H51

2 XI.] 24. H51; 8. 12b-24
8 loose] lose 12b, 13a, 14;

13-14 *Cùm . . . vivere*.] not in 12b (H51)-24

Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at
 their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne.
 Certainly Great Persons, had need to borrow other Mens
 20 Opinions; to thinke themselves happy; For if they judge
 by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they
 thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them,
 and that other men would faine be as they are, then they
 are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde
 25 the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their
 owne Grieffs; though they be the last, that finde their owne
 Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to
 [H4^v] them-selves, and while they are in the pusle of businesse,
 they have no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or
 30 Minde. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus,*
ignotus moritur sibi. In Place, There is License to doe Good,
 and Evill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Evill, the best
 condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power
 to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For
 35 good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men,
 are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in
 Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the
 Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works,
 is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the same, is
 40 the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can be
 Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of
 Gods Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera, quæ*
fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;
 And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place, set
 [I1] before thee | the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe
 46 of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne
 Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst
 not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that
 have carried themselves ill, in the same Place: Not to set off
 50 thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe,

17-18 Like . . . Scorne.] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 29 time] *minde 12c*
 32 latter] *latter case 12c* 37 Act] *Art 12b (ink corr. to lemma in 11 of*
15 copies) 38 Merit, and good Works,] *Merit 12b (H51)-24*
 39 the same] *merit 12b (H51)-24* 40 can] *can in any measure 12b*
(H51)-24 44 Sabbath] *Sabbath H51* 45 the best] *thine owne 12c*
 48-51 Neglect . . . avoid.] *not in 12b (H51)-24*

what to avoid. Reforme therefore, without Braverie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and observe, wherein, and how, they have degenerate; but yet aske Counsell 55 of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular; that Men may know before hand, what they may expect: But be not too positive, and peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. 60 Preserve the Right of thy *Place*; but stirre | not questions of [11^v] Jurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and *de facto*, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preserve likewise, the Rights of Inferiour *Places*; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, 65 and invite Helps, and Advices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And doe not drive away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of *Authoritie* are chiefly foure: *Delaies*; *Corruption*; *Roughnesse*; and *Facilitie*. For *Delaies*; Give easie Accesse; Keepe times 70 appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse, but of necessitie. For *Corruption*; Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Servants hands, from taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritye used doth the one; but Integritye 75 professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is | found variable, and changeth manifestly, [12] without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion, or 80 Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons, that move thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it. A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought

51 Reforme therefore,] Reforme, 12b (H51)-24 57 Course] courses H51
 59 positive, and peremptorie] positive, 12b (H51)-24 61 Right] rights 12b
 (H51)-24 64 of] and of 12c 66 Advices] intelligence 12b (H51)-24
 69 Corruption] Corruptions 12b-24 74 from taking] that may take 12b
 (H51)-24 74-5 Sutours . . . offring] them that should offer 12b (H51)-24
 79 giveth] give 13b, 13c; gives 24 80-3 Therefore, . . . it.] not in 12b (H51)-24

85 but a By-way, to close *Corruption*. For *Roughnesse*; It is
 a needlesse cause of *Discontent*: *Severitie* breedeth Feare, but
Roughnesse breedeth Hate. Even Reproofes from Authoritie,
 ought to be Grave, and not Taunting. As for *Facilitie*; It is
 worse then Bribery. For *Bribes* come but now and then; But
 90 if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be
 without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect Persons, is not good*;
For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread. It is
 most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the*
Man: And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the
 [12^v] worse: | *Omnium consensu, capax Imperii, nisi imperasset*;
 96 saith *Tacitus* of *Galba*: but of *Vespasian* he saith; *Solus*
Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius. Though the
 one was meant of Sufficiencie, the other of Manners, and
 Affection. It is an assured Signe, of a worthy and generous
 100 Spirit, whom *Honour* amends. For *Honour* is, or should be,
 the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things move violently
 to their Place, and calmely in their Place: So Vertue in
 Ambition is violent, in Authoritie settled and calme. All Rising
 to *Great Place*, is by a winding Staire: And if there be
 105 Factions, it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the
 Rising; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed. Use the
 Memory of thy Predecessour fairely, and tenderly; For if
 thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid, when thou art
 gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call
 110 them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when
 [13] they have reason to looke to be | called. Be not too sensible,
 or too remembring, of thy Place, in Conversation, and private
 Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said; *When he sits in*
Place, he is another Man. |

85 to close *Corruption*.] not in 12b (H51)-24

96 *Vespasian*] *Vespasianus* 24

103 settled and calme] settled H51

89 then] the H51

99 an assured] assured 13a-24

103-14 All . . . *Man*.] not in H51-24

Of Boldnesse.

[13^v]

XII.

It is a triviall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise
Mans Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes*;
What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour? He answered, *Action*; 5
 what next? *Action*; what next again? *Action*. He said it, that
 knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Advantage, in
 that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an
 Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of
 a Player; should be placed so high, above those other Noble 10
 Parts, of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the rest: Nay almost
 alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There
 is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of
 the | Wise; And therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish [14^v]
 part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull 15
 like is the Case of *Boldnesse*, in Civill Businesse; What first?
Boldnesse; What Second, and Third? *Boldnesse*. And yet
Boldnesse is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre
 inferiour to other Parts. But neverthesse, it doth fascinate,
 and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow in 20
 Judgment; or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part;
 Yea and prevailith with wise men, at weake times. Therefore,
 we see it hath done wonders, in Popular States; but with
 Senates and Princes lesse; And more, ever upon the first
 entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, then soone after; 25
 For *Boldnesse* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there
 are *Mountebanques* for the Naturall Body: So are there
Mountebanques for the Politique Body: Men that undertake
 great Cures; And perhaps have been Lucky, in two or three
 Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therefore | 30
 cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a *Bold Fellow*, many [14^v]
 times, doe *Mahomets* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People
 beleieve, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top
 of it, offer up his Praiers, for the Observers of his Law. The
 People assembled; *Mahomet* cald the Hill to come to him, 35

again, and again; And when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it over, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Judgment, *Bold* Persons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, *Boldnesse* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subject of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldnesse* is seldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold* Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a | most Shrunk, and wooden Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulness, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with *Bold* Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed; That *Boldnesse* is ever blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconveniencies. Therefore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of *Bold* persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 24 more,] ~ ^ 25

[K1^v]

Of Goodnesse
And
Goodnesse of Nature.
XIII.

I take *Goodnesse* in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; And

1-3 Of Goodnesse And Goodnesse of Nature.] *essay not in 97a-12a* 4 XIII.]
4. H51; 3. 12b-24 5 Weale] *Wealth* 24 6 And] for 12b (H51)-13b, 14

the word *Humanitie* (as it is used) is a little too light, to
 expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the Habit, and *Goodnesse of*
Nature the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of
 the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: 10
 And without it, Man is a Busie, Mischievous, Wretched Thing;
 No better then a Kinde of Vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to
 the *Theologicall Vertue Charitie*, and admits no Excesse, but |
 Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to [K2]
 fall; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; 15
 But in *Charity*, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or
 Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodnesse*, is
 imprinted deeply in the Nature of Man: In so much, that if
 it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living
 Creatures: As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who 20
 neverthesse, are kinde to Beasts, and give Almes to Dogs,
 and Birds: In so much, as *Busbechius* reporteth; A Christian
 Boy in *Constantinople*, had like to have been stoned, for
 gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours,
 indeed, in this vertue of *Goodnesse*, or *Charity*, may be 25
 committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb; *Tanto*
buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing.
 And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Macciavel*, had the
 confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: *That*
the Christian Faith, had given up Good Men, in prey, to 30
those, | that are Tyrannicall, and unjust. Which he spake, [K2^v]
 because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did
 so much magnifie *Goodnesse*, as the Christian Religion doth.
 Therefore to avoid the Scandall, and the Danger both; it is
 good to take knowledge, of the Errours, of an Habit, so 35
 excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in
 bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie,
 or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner.
 Neither give thou *Æsops* Cocke a Gemme, who would
 be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly 40
 Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He*

7 is a] it is a 12b (H51)-24 9-10 and . . . Minde,] not in 12b (H51)-
 24 12 answers] answereth 14 13 no] not 12b (H51)-13b, 14
 14-26 The . . . committed.] not in 12b (H51)-24 27 val niente]
 valmiente 12b (ink corr. to lemma in 11 of 15 copies), 12c 28 Macciavel]
 Matchiavell H51; Machiavel 12b-24 31 spake] speake 13c; speaks 24
 38 or] and 12b (H51)-24 40 and happier] not in 12c

sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, upon the Just, and Unjust; But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, upon Men equally. Common Benefits,
 45 are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Divinitie maketh the Love of our
 [K3] Selves | the Patterne; The Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and*
 50 *follow mee*: But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou have a Vocation, wherin thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a *Habit of Goodnesse*,
 55 directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crosnesse, or Frowardnesse, or
 60 Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing,
 [K3^v] upon | any Thing that is raw; *Misanthropi*, that make it
 66 their Practise, to bring Men, to the Bough; And yet have never a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errours of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques
 70 of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme. The Parts and Signes of *Goodnesse* are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut
 75 off from other Lands; but a Continent, that joynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded

42 *sendeth*] sendes H51

streame 24

61-5 Such . . . raw] *not in 12b (H51)-24*65 *Misanthropi*] There be manie H51; There be many *Misanthropi* 12b-24*Timon* had.] *not in H51*

44 Honour] honours H51

72-86 The . . . himselfe.] *not in 12b (H51)-24*

53 Streames]

65 *Mis-*

67 as

it selfe, when it gives the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted above Injuries; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for 80 small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighe Mens | Mindes, [K4] and not their Trash. But above all, if he have *St. Pauls* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from *Christ*, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity with *Christ* 85 himselfe. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 77 Tree,] 25(c); ~; 25(u)

Of Nobility.

[K4^v]

XIII.

We will speake of *Nobility*, first as a *Portion* of an *Estate*; Then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure, and absolute 5 *Tyranny*; As that of the Turkes. For *Nobility* attempers *Soveraignty*, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the *Line Royall*. But for *Democracies*, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subject to Sedition, then where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For Mens 10 Eyes are upon the Businesse, and not upon the Persons: Or if upon the Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedegree. Wee see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their Diver-|sitie of Religion, and of Cantons. [L1] For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The united 15 Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Majestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the 20 People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when *Nobles* are not too great for *Soveraignty*, nor for Justice; And yet

1 Of Nobility.] *essay not in 97a-12a*
 3-18 We . . . cheerfull.] *not in 12b (H51)-24*
of final section in 12b (H51)-24
 24
 21 Fortune] *fortunes 12b (H51)-24*

2 XIII.] 3. *H51*; 7. *12b-24*
 18-25 A . . . Kings.] *part*
 19 great and Potent] *great 12b (H51)-*
 21 nor] *not 13b-13c, 24*

maintained in that heighth, as the Insolencie of Inferiours, may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon
 25 the Majesty of Kings. A Numerous *Nobility*, causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expen-
 And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of
 Disproportion, betweene Honour and Meanes.

[L1^v] As for *Nobility* in *particular Persons*; | It is a Reverend
 31 Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much
 more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is
 35 but the Act of Power; But Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility*, are commonly
 more Vertuous, but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising, but by a Commixture, of
 good and evill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their
 40 vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselves. *Nobility* of *Birth*, commonly abateth
 Industry: And he that is not industrious, envieth him, that is. Besides, *Noble persons*, cannot goe much higher; And he
 that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid
 45 Motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passive Envy, from others towards them; Because they
 [L2] are | in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that have Able men of their *Nobility*, shall finde ease in imploying them;
 And a better Slide into their Businesse: For People naturally
 50 bend to them, as borne in some sort to Command. |

25-9 A . . . Meanes.] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 30 As . . . Persons;] *not in 12b (H51)-24*
 36 Those . . . Nobility] The first raisers of Fortunes
 12b (H51)-24 38 any Rising] rising 12b (H51)-24 39 Arts]
 Acts reworked to lemma by Hand A H51 40 Posterity] posterities 12b (H51)-24
 46 from] in 12b (H51)-24 47 Honour.] Honour:
 and Envy is as the sunne beames, that beate more upon a rising ground, then upon a levell. 12b (H51)-24 (transferred with revisions in 25 to IX. 87-9)
 49 Slide into] slid in to 12b (ink corr. in 9 of 15 copies to slide in); slide in 12c; slid into 13a-24; slyde in H51

Of Seditions
And
Troubles.
XV.

[L2]

Shepheards of People, had need know the *Kalenders* of 5
Tempests in *State*; which are commonly greatest, when
Things grow to Equality; As Naturall *Tempests* are greatest
about the *Æquinocchia*. And as there are certaine hollow
Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a *Tempest*,
so are there in *States*:

10

—*Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus*
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, et operta tumescere Bella.

Libels, and licentious Discourses against the *State*, when
they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false *Newes*,
often running up and downe, to the dis-|advantage of the [L3]
State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the *Signes* of 16
Troubles. *Virgil* giving the Pedegre of *Fame*, saith, *She was*
sister to the Giants

Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem. 20
Progeniuit.—

As if *Fames* were the Reliques of *Seditions* past; But they are
no lesse, indeed, the preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howsoever,
he noteth it right, that *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious*
Fames, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, Masculine 25
and Feminine; Especially, if it come to that, that the best

11 *cæcos*] *cæcos* 25

1 Of Seditions And Troubles.] *essay not in 97a-12a, 12b-24* 4 XV.] 34.
H51; unnumbered in De 8 *Æquinocchia*] *Equinoctiall De* 9 *Blasts*
of Winde] *blastes H51, De* a *Tempest*] *Tempestes H51, De* 11 —*Ille*
etiam cæcos] —*Ille etiam cæcos* 25; *cæcos H51, De* 13 *Libels*] *Certainly,*
Libells H51; Certen libells De 13-16 *against . . . embraced*] *not in*
H51, De 16 *Signes*] *signe De* 20 *Extremam*] *Extrema De*
22 *Fames*] *fames and Rumors H51, De* 23 *indeed*] *not in H51, De*
23-4 *Howsoever, he noteth*] *But he notes H51, De* 24 *Seditious*
Tumults] *seditions, tumultes H51* 25 *Brother and Sister*] *not in H51, De*
26-35 *Especially, . . . Long-lived.*] *not in H51, De*

Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith;
 30 *Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much
 [L3^v] Severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For | the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about
 35 to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm exequi*; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking
 40 off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as *Macciavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to
 45 be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrowen, by uneven weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants*; and presently after,
 50 the same League was turned upon Himselfe. For when the
 [L4] Authority of Princes, is made | but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

55 Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe, the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Government, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under *Primum Mobile*; (according to the old Opinion:) which
 60 is, That Every of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest

36 speaketh of,] describeth in an Army *H51, De* 38-43 Disputing,
 . . . audaciously.] When Mandates fall to be disputed and distinguished and new
 sences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying. *H51, De* 44 *Macciavel*
 noteth well] *Machavvell* [*Machivell De*] well notes *H51, De* 45 Parents]
 fathers *H51, De* 46 side,] side in the estate *H51, De* 46-54 is overthrowen,
 . . . Possession.] tiltes aside before it overthrowes. *H51, De* 57-65 For
 . . . Frame.] not in *H51, De*

Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therefore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, move violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberiùs, quàm ut Imperantium meminissent*; It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that, wherwith Princes are girt from God; Who threatneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum*. 65

So when any of the foure Pillars of Government, are mainly shaken, or | weakned (which are *Religion, Justice, Counsell,* [L4^v] and *Treasure,*) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But 70 let us passe from this Part of Predictions, (Concerning which, neverthesse, more light may be taken, from that which followeth;) And let us speake first of the *Materials* of *Seditions*; Then of the *Motives* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies*. 75

Concerning the *Materialls* of *Seditions*. It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions*, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter* 80 of *Seditions* is of two kindes; *Much Poverty*, and *Much Discontentment*. It is certaine, so many *Overthrowne Estates*, so many Votes for *Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome*, before the Civill Warre.

Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus, | 85
Hinc concussa Fides, et multis utile Bellum. [M1]

This same *Multis utile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions*, and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty*, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is 90 imminent, and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the

65 For] And *H51, De* 66 thercof;] thereof, as one of his great Judgements *H51* (great and es interlined by Hand A), *De* 69 shaken] shaken *H51* 71 passe from this] leave the *H51, De* 71-3 (Concerning . . . followeth;)] not in *H51, De* 73-4 let . . . *Seditions*;] speake of the *Materialls H51, De* 74 Then . . . them;] and the causes, *H51, De* 74-80 And . . . Fire.] and the remedyes. *H51, De* 82 *Discontentment*] discontent *H51, De* It is certaine] Certainly *H51, De* 84 *Rome*,] the tymes, *H51, De* 88 Signe] rule *De* 88-92 *Seditions*, . . . worst.] troubles, and seditions. *H51, De*

worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no
 95 Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Just, or Unjust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous
 100 *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great
 [M1^v] Oppressions, the same Things, that pro-voke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning
 105 *Discontentments*, because they have been often, or have been long and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true, that every Vapour, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neverthesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; And as the Spanish Proverb
 110 noteth well; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditions* are; *Innovation in Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priviledges; Generall Oppression; Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Soldiers; Factions*
 115 *growne desperate*; And whatsoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies*; There may be some generall Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the just Cure, it must an-
 [M2] swer to the Particular Disease: And so be left to Counsell,
 120 rather then Rule.

107 doth not] 25 (*first-state corr.*); doth 25(u)

92-3 As . . . are] For discontentes, they are the verie humors in the politique body H51, De 94-5 no Prince] not Princes H51, De 96 be] are H51, De 96-7 to . . . Good:] to reasonable H51, De 98-9 rise, . . . fact,] arise, be in true proporcion H51, De 100 *Discontentments*] kindes of discontentes H51, De 101-10 *Dolendi . . . pull.*] not in H51, De 111 *Seditions*] Sedition H51, De 111-12 *Innovation in Religion*] Religion H51, De 112 *Alteration*] alteracions H51, De 112-13 *Breaking of*] breakeing H51, De 114-15 *Dearths; . . . desperate;*] Dearthes. H51, De 116 joyneth and knitteth] joyneth H51, De 117-75 There . . . People.] there maie be some generall p^rservatives, the Cure must aunswere to y^e p^ticular disease. H51 (*interlined, Hand A*), De

The first *Remedy* or prevention, is to remove by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*, wherof we spake; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate*. To which purpose, serveth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the 125 Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be foreseene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen 130 downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned, onely by number: For a smaller Number, that spend more, and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that live lower, and gather more. 135 Therefore the | Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of [M2^v] Qualitie, in an over Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie: And so doth likewise an overgrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then 140 Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increase of any Estate, must be upon the Forrainer, (for whatsoever is some where gotten, is some where lost). There be but three Things, which one Nation selleth unto another; 145 The *Commoditie* as Nature yeeldeth it; The *Manufacture*; and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if these three wheelles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, that *Materiam superabit Opus*; That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth, then the Materiall, and 150 enricheth a State more; As is notably seene in the *Low-Countrey-men*, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World. |

Above all things, good Policie is to be used, that the [M3] Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few 155 Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least,

keeping a strait Hand, upon the Devouring Trades of *Usurie*,
 160 *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Removing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of
 them; There is in every State (as we know) two Portions of
Subjects; The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. When one of
 these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; For Common
 165 People, are of slow Motion, if they be not excited, by the
 Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength,
 except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to move of themselves.
 Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for
 the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then
 170 they may declare themselves. The Poets faigne, that the rest
 [M3^v] of | the Gods, would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing
 of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his
 hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no
 doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure
 175 of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discontentments*
 to evaporate, (so it be without too great Insolency or Bravery)
 is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe, and
 maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne
 180 Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus*, mought well become *Prometheus*,
 in the case of *Discontentments*; For there is not a better
 provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when Griefes and Evils
 flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the
 185 Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall
 Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying Men
 from *Hopes* to *Hopes*; is one of the best Antidotes, against
 [M4] the Poyson of *Discontentments*. | And it is a certaine Signe,
 of a wise Government, and Proceeding, when it can hold
 190 Mens hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot by Satisfaction: And

176 Griefes, and <i>Discontentments</i>] greifes <i>H51, De</i>	177 (so
. . . Bravery)] ^so it be wthout bravery or importunitye^ <i>H51, De</i>	
178-9 Humors . . . maketh] humor or makes <i>H51, De</i>	181 The] Also
the <i>H51, De</i> mought well] may <i>H51, De</i>	182-3 the . . . them.] this
Case; <i>H51, De</i> 183 <i>Epimetheus</i>] Hee <i>H51, De</i>	184 at . . . and]
yet <i>H51, De</i> 185 Certainly] not in <i>H51, De</i>	186-7 and . . . to
<i>Hopes</i> ;) of some degree of hopes, <i>H51, De</i>	188 <i>Discontentments</i>]
discontentes <i>H51, De</i>	189 and Proceeding, when] if <i>H51, De</i>
190 Mens . . . when] by hope, where <i>H51, De</i>	190-5 And . . . not.]
not in <i>H51, De</i>	

when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of *Hope*: Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, which they beleieve not. 195

Also, the Foresight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may joyne, is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I understand a fit Head, to be one, that hath Greatnesse, and Reputation; That hath Confidence with 200 the *Discontented Party*; and upon whom they turne their Eyes; And that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either to be wonne, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; Or to be fronted, with some | other, of the same Party, that may [M4^v] oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the 206 Dividing and Breaking of all Factions, and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate Case, if those, that hold with 210 the Proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; And those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nescivit* 215 *Literas, non potuit dictare*: For it did, utterly, cut off that *Hope*, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himselfe by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi*: For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donative. *Probus* likewise, by 220 that Speech; *Si vixero, non | opus erit ampliùs Romano* [N1] *Imperio militibus*. A Speech of great Despaire, for the

195 brave that] 25 (*first-state corr.*); brave, that 25(u) which they] 25 (*first-state corr.*); they 25(u)

196 Foresight] oversight *De* 197 *Discontented Persons*] discontents
H51, De 202-6 *discontented* . . . reputation.] discontent in his particular.
H51, De 206 Generally] Also *H51, De* 207-9 all . . . themselves,]
 anie Combinacion, that is adverse to the State *H51, De* 209 not one]
 none *H51, De* 210-11 those, . . . Proceeding] the true parte *H51, De*
 211 full of] of full *De* 212 those . . . be] the false *H51, De*
 213-28 I . . . noted.] not in *H51, De*

Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, *Princes* had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these short Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere unto them, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur*. But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the o-|ther Great Men in the *State*; Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.

230 Person, . . . Valour] person of Militarye vawle H51, De 233 Court]
 Courtes H51, De 236 the first] the H51, De 237-8 Military
 . . . also] one, or more, be an assured [sured De] one, and not popular, and
 holding H51, De (or more deleted in H51, not in De) 239 other . . .
 State] gowne Men H51, De (gowne deleted)

Emendation of Accidentals. 34 best;] 25 (*first-state corr.*) ~ ^ 25(u)
 55 Discords] 25 (*first-state corr.*); discords 25(u) 56 carried] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Carried 25(u) 59 Opinion:] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~: ^ 25(u)
 103 Courage:] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~. 25(u) 107 Vapour] 25(u); Vapor 25 (*first-state corr.*) 122 Sedition,] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Sedition ^ 25(u)
 130 mowen] 25 (*first-state corr.*); mowne 25(u) 133 number:] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~. 25(u) 144 lost,] ~) ^ 25
 171 Gods] 25 (*first-state corr.*); gods 25(u) 179 endangereth] 25 (*first-state corr.*); indangereth 25(u) 190 Satisfaction:] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~. 25(u) 197 resort,] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~; 25(u) and] 25 (*first-state corr.*); And 25(u) 201 Party;] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Party, 25(u)
 219 emi:] 25(c); ~. 25(u)

Of Atheisme.

XVI.

I had rather beleeeve all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, then that this universall Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God never wrought Miracle, 5 to convince *Atheisme*, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to *Atheisme*; But depth in Philosophy, bringeth Mens Mindes about to *Religion*: For while the Minde of Man, looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in 10 them, and goe no fur-|ther: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine [N2] of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Providence*, and *Deitie*. Nay even that *Schoole*, which is most accused of *Atheisme*, doth most demonstrate *Religion*; That is, the *Schoole* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and 15 *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seedes unplaced, should have produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Divine Marshall. The 20 Scripture saith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God*: It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart*: So as, he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would have, then that he can throughly beleeeve it, or be perswaded

3-4 and . . . *Alcoran*,] 25(c); and the *Talmud*, 25(u)

1 Of Atheisme.] essay not in 97a-12a 2 XVI.] 27. H51; 14. 12b-14
 (misnumbered 6. 24) 3-4 *Legend*, . . . *Alcoran*] *Legend*, and the *Talmud*
 25(u); *Legend*, and the *Alcoran* 12b (H51)-24 6 *Atheisme*] Atheists
 12b (H51)-24 7 it] them 12b (H51)-24 It . . . that] Certainly, 12b
 (H51)-24 inclineth Mans Minde] inclineth H51 8 Mens Mindes] men
 12b (H51)-24 9 while] when 12b (H51)-24 10 it . . . rest]
 sometimes it resteth 12b (H51)-24 11 and . . . further:] not in 12b
 (H51)-24 11-12 the Chaine of] not in 12b (H51)-24 12 Linked]
 knit 12b (H51)-24 must needs flie] flies 12b (H51)-24 13 Nay
 even] Most of all, 12b (H51)-24 14 doth most] doth 12b (H51)-
 24 15 *Leucippus*] *Leusippus* 12b(u) *Democritus*] *Democrites* 13c,
 24 17 Fift] 5th H51; fifth 12b, 13a-24 19 Portions, or Seedes]
 porcions H51; portions of seeds 14 23 saith it] it interlined in H51 by
 Hand A

25 of it. For none deny there is a *God*, but those, for whom it
 maketh that there were no *God*. It appeareth in nothing
 more, that *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart*
 [N2^v] of Man, then by this; | That *Atheists* will ever be talking of
 that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves,
 30 and would be glad to be strengthened, by the Consent of others:
 Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it
 fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall
 have of them, that will suffer for *Atheisme*, and not recant;
 Whereas, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such
 35 Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus*
 is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake,
 when he affirmed; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as
 enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the Government
 of the World. Wherin, they say, he did temporize; though in
 40 secret, he thought, there was no *God*. But certainly, he is
 traduced; For his Words are Noble and Divine: *Non Deos*
vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare
profanum. *Plato* could have said no more. And although, he
 had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*, he had |
 [N3] not the Power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West*,
 46 have Names for their particular *Gods*, though they have no
 name for *God*: As if the *Heathens*, should have had the
 Names *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. But not the Word *Deus*:
 which shewes, that even those Barbarous People, have the
 50 Notion, though they have not the Latitude, and Extent of it.
 So that against *Atheists*, the very Savages take part, with the
 very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative *Atheist* is
 rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others;
 And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all
 55 that Impugne a received *Religion*, or *Superstition*, are by the

26-35 It . . . themselves?] not in 12b (H51)-24 36 credits] Credit
 H51 42 *Opiniones*] *opinionis* 13a-24 45 the *Nature*] that
 nature H51 46 no] noe one H51 49 shewes, . . . People] shewes
 H51; shewes yet 12b-24 50 Notion] motion 12b(u); (mocion *deleted*
in H51 and notion interlined by Hand B (Bacon)) they . . . it.] not the full
 extent 12b (H51)-24 (full interlined in H51 by Hand B (Bacon)) 51 very]
 most barbarous 12b (H51)-24 52 very subtillest] subtillest 12b (H51)-
 24 Philosophers.] Phylosophers 12b(u) 52-69 Philosophers. The
 . . . *Religion*.] the germ of this addition appears in a cancelled passage in XVII.
 25-33 in 12b (H51)-24

adverse Part, branded with the Name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites*; which are ever Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are; *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one maine Division, 60 addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many Divisions introduce | *Atheisme*. Another is, *Scandall* of *Priests*; When it is come to [N3^v] that, which S. Bernard saith; *Non est iam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos*. A third is, Custome of *Profane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters*; which doth, by 65 little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Adversities doe more bow Mens Mindes to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, 70 he be not of Kinne to *God*, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is 75 in stead of a *God*, or *Melior Natura*: which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, then his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when | he resteth and assureth himselfe, upon divine Protection, and [N4] Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, 80 in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriveth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, above Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Never was there such a *State*, for Magnanimity, as *Rome*: Of this *State* heare 85 what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis et Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ,* 90

76 in stead] 25(c); instead 25(u)

70 of] *interlined in H51 by Hand A*
86 *patres conscripti*] *P. Cons. 12b (H51)-24*

75 who] which 12b (H51)-24

quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 6 convince . . . convince] 25(c); Convince . . .
 Convince 25(u) 67 Prosperity:] 25(c); ~. 25(u) 69 Nobility:]
 25(c); ~. 25(u) 78 owne,] 25(c); ~. 25(u) 89 Gents] 25(c);
 ~, 25(u)

[N4v]

Of Superstition. XVII.

It were better to have no Opinion of *God* at all; then such an
 Opinion, as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbeleefe,
 5 the other is Contumely: And certainly *Superstition* is the
 Reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose:
Surely (saith he) *I had rather, a great deale, Men should say,*
there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they
should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his
 10 *Children, as soon as they were borne,* as the Poets speake of
Saturne. And, as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so
 the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheisme* leaves a Man
 to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to
 [O1] Reputation; All which may | be Guides to an outward Morall
 15 vertue, though *Religion* were not; But *Superstition* dismounts
 all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes
 of Men. Therefore *Atheisme* did never perturb *States*; For
 it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further: And
 we see the times enclined to *Atheisme* (as the Time of
 20 *Augustus Cæsar*) were civil Times. But *Superstition*, hath
 beene the Confusion of many States; And bringeth in
 a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheares of
 Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; And

1 Of Superstition.] essay not in 97a-12a 2 XVII.] 28. H51; 12.
 (misnumbering for 15.) 12b-24 6 the *Deity*] Deitie 12b-24
 6-12 *Plutarch* . . . Men.] not in 12b (H51)-24 14 to . . . Morall] unto
 12b (H51), 12c; to 13a-24 16 Monarchy] Tyranny 12b (H51)-
 24 Mindes] minde 12b (H51)-24 19 see] interlined in H51 by
 Hand A 20 were] and our owne times in some Countries, were, and are,
 12b (H51)-24 21 Confusion] confusion, and desolacion H51; confusion
 and dissolution 12b, 12c (ink corr. in 7 of 15 copies of 12b to confusion and
 desolation) bringeth] brings H51

in all *Superstition*, Wise Men follow Fooles; And Arguments
 are fitted to Practise, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said, 25
 by some of the Prelates, in the *Councell of Trent*, where the
 doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; *That the*
Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne
Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save
the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such 30
Things: And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed
 a Num-ber of subtile and intricate *Axiomes*, and *Theorems*, [O1^v]
 to save the practise of the Church. The *Causes of Superstition*
 are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies: Excesse of
 Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Over-great Reverence of 35
 Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems
 of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Favouring
 too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to
 Conceits and Novelties; The taking an Aime at divine Matters
 by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; 40
 And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially joyned with Calamities
 and Disasters. *Superstition*, without a vaile, is a deformed
 Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like
 a Man; So the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes
 it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to 45
 little Wormes; So good Formes and Orders, corrupt into
 a Number of petty Observances. There is a *Superstition*, in
 avoiding *Superstition*; | when men thinke to doe best, if [O2]
 they goe furthest from the *Superstition* formerly received:

25 in a] 25(c); in 25(u)

25 in a] in 13c, 24, 25(u) 25-33 It . . . Church.] There is no such
 Atheist, as an Hipocrite, or Impostor: and it is not possible, but where the generality
 is superstitious, many of the leaders are Hipocrits. The causes of *Atheisme* are,
 divisions in Religion; scandall of Priests; and learned times; specially if prosperous;
 though for divisions, any one maine division addeth zeale to both sides, but many
 divisions introduce *Atheisme*. 12b (H51)-24 (specially if prosperous om. 12c)
 (this passage transferred, with expansions, to XVI. 52-69 in 25) 33 Causes]
 cause 14 34 Pleasing . . . Rites and] the pleasing of 12b (H51)-13b, 14;
 the pleasing 13c, 24 Excesse] the excesse 12b (H51)-24 35 Outward
 and Pharisaicall] outward 12b (H51)-24 Over-great] the 12b (H51)-24
 36 which . . . Church] not in 12b (H51)-24 37-40 The . . . Imaginations;]
 not in 12b (H51)-24 41 And lastly] and 12b (H51)-24 Especially
 joyned] specially 12b (H51)-24 42 a vaile] his vaile 12b (H51)-13b, 14;
 this vaile 13c, 24 43 addeth] addes H51 47 petty] pettie
 interlined in H51 by Hand A Observances] observations 13c, 24
 47-52 There . . . Reformer.] not in 12b (H51)-24

50 Therefore, Care would be had, that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 15 vertue,] 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u) 18 further:]
 25(c); ~; 25(u) 27 Schoolemen] 25(c); ~, 25(u)
 30 *Phenomena*] 25(c); *Phenomena* 25(u)

[02^v]

Of Travaile. XVIII.

Travaile, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *travaileth* into a Country,
 5 before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Travaile*. That Young Men *travaile* under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are
 10 worthy to be seene in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages,
 [03] where there is nothing to | be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men
 15 should make Diaries; But in *Land-Travaile*, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seene and observed are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they give
 20 Audience to Ambassadors: The Courts of Justice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Havens and Harbours: Antiquities, and
 25 Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arsenal:

14 be seene] 25(c); seene 25(u) [*cw*: be]
 25(u)

25 Ruines] 25(c); Runines

Magazens: Exchanges: Burses; Ware-houses: Exercises of
 Horseman-ship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like:
 Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe 30
 resort; | Treasuries of Jewels, and Robes; Cabinets, and [03^v]
 Rarities: And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the
 Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Servants,
 ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Masques;
 Feasts; Weddings; Funeralls; Capitall Executions; and such 35
 Shewes; Men need not to be put in minde of them; Yet are
 they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man, to
 put his *Travaile*, into a little Roome, and in short time, to
 gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must
 have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. 40
 Then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the
 Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also
 some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he
 travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him
 keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty, or 45
 Towne; More or lesse as the place deserveth, but not long:
 Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, | let him change [04]
 his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another;
 which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester
 himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in 50
 such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation,
 where he travaileth. Let him upon his Removes, from one
 place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person
 of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he removeth; that
 he may use his Favour, in those things, he desireth to see or 55
 know. Thus he may abridge his *Travaile*, with much profit.
 As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in *Travaile*;
 That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the
 Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadors; For so in
Travailing in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of 60
 many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all
 Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able
 to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels,
 they are with | Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, [04^v]
 commonly, for Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And 65

let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick
 and Quarelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their
 owne Quarels. When a *Travailler* returneth home, let him not
 leave the Countries, where he hath *Travailed*, altogether
 70 behinde him; But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters,
 with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth.
 And let his *Travaile* appeare rather in his Discourse, then in
 his Apparrell, or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him be
 rather advised in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories:
 75 And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country
 Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in
 some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the
 Customes of his owne Country. |

72 rather] 25(c); rather in his 25(u)

Emendation of Accidentals. 3 *Travaile*,] 25(c); *Travile* 25(u) 15 *Land-Travaile*]
Land-Travile 25 wherein] 25(u); wherin 25(c) 21 Causes;]
 25(c); ~: 25(u) 29 Horseman-ship] Horse-|man-ship 25
 65 commonly] 25(c); Commonly 25(u) 69 *Travailed*] 25(c); *Traviled*
 25(u) 71 Acquaintance,] Ac-|quaintance, 25(c); Ac-|quaintance; 25(u)
 72 *Travaile*] 25(c); *Traivaile* 25(u) 76 Forraigne] 25(c); Foraigne 25(u)

[P1]

Of Empire. XIX.

It is a miserable State of Minde, to have few Things to desire,
 and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the
 5 Case of *Kings*; Who being at the highest, want Matter of
 desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And
 have many Representations of Perills and Shadowes, which
 makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason
 also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the*
 10 *Kings Heart is inscrutable*. For Multitude of Jealousies, and
 Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and
 put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to
 [P1^v] finde, or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that | *Princes*, many

1 Of Empire.] *essay not in 97a-12a* 2 XIX.] 25. *H51*; 9. 12b-24
 5 *Kings*] *Kinge H51* 6 more] the more 12b (*H51*)-24 10 Multi-
 tude] multitudes 12b, 13a, 14 12 any Mans Heart] Mens heartes *H51*
 13 it comes] comes it *H51*; commeth it 12b-24

times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon
 toyes: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon Erecting 15
 of an Order; Sometimes upon the Advancing of a Person;
 Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat
 of the Hand; As *Nero* for playing on the Harpe, *Domitian* for
 Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for
 playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. 20
 This seemeth incredible unto those, that know not the
 Principle; *That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and*
refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at
a stay in great. We see also that *Kings*, that have beene
 fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares; it being not 25
 possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they
 must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne
 in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As
 did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian*; And in our memory,
Charles the fift; And others: | For he that is used to goe [P2]
 forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne favour, 31
 and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of *Empire*: It is a Thing
 rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Distemper
 consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, 35
 another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to
Vespasian, is full of Excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked
 him; *What was Neroes overthrow?* He answered; *Nero could*
touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, sometimes
he used to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them 40
downe too low. And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth
 Authority so much, as the unequall and untimely Enterchange
 of Power *Pressed* too farre, and *Relaxed* too much.

15-16 Sometimes . . . Order;] sometyes upon a building *H51*; sometimes
 upon a building; sometimes upon an order; *12b*, *13a-24*; sometimes upon an
 order *12c* 18-20 As . . . Chariots] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 20-1 the
 . . . seemeth] such things w^{ch} *H51*; such like things, which seeme *12b-24*
 21 unto] to *12b (H51)-24* the] this *H51* 24 We . . . beene] There-
 fore great and *12b (H51)-24* 25-7 it . . . Fortunes;] *not in 12b (H51)-24*
 27-8 turne . . . Melancholy:] turne melancholy and superstitious in their latter,
12b (H51)-24 (later *H51*) 29 Great; *Dioclesian*] great, *12b (H51)-24*
 30 others] many others *12b (H51)-24* 32 and . . . was.] *not in 12b*
(H51)-24 33 To . . . the] A *12b (H51)-24* 33-4 *Empire*: . . .
 keep:] government is a rare thing: *12b (H51)-24* 40 *sometimes to*]
and sometimes to 12b (H51)-24 43 Power . . . much] pressing power
 and imbasing Majestie *H51*; pressing power and relaxing power *12b-24*

This is true; that the wisdom of all these latter Times in
 45 *Princes* Affaires, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of
 Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then solid
 and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. But this is but
 [P2^v] to | try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how
 they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble to be prepared:
 50 For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence it may
 come. The difficulties in *Princes* Businesse, are many and
 great; But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne
 Minde. For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*) to
 will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates*
 55 *vehementes, et inter se contrariæ*. For it is the Solœcisme
 of Power, to thinke to Command the End, and yet not to
 endure the Meane.

Kings have to deale with their *Neighbours*; their *Wives*;
 their *Children*; their *Prelates* or *Clergie*; their *Nobles*;
 60 their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen*; their *Merchants*; their
Commons; and their *Men of Warre*; And from all these arise
 Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for their *Neighbours*; There can no generall Rule be
 given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save one; which ever
 [P3] holdeth; which is, That *Princes* doe | keepe due Centinell,
 66 that none of their *Neighbours* doe overgrow so, (by Encrease
 of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the
 like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they
 were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counsels
 70 to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of
Kings, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *King*
 of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*, there was such
 a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a Palme of
 Ground, but the other two, would straightwaies ballance
 75 it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre: And
 would not, in any wise, take up Peace at Interest. And the
 like was done by that League (which, *Guicciardine* saith, was

44 This . . . the] The 12b (H51)-24
 in H51 by Hand A

thence deleted
 48 And] But 12b (H51)-24

13a-24 and] times 12b (H51)-24
 plerumque 12b-24

6 of 15 copies), 12c

44-5 in *Princes* Affaires] interlined
 46 then] interlined in H51 by Hand B (Bacon) and

47-8 But . . . Fortune:] not in 12b (H51)-24
 51 difficulties] difficultnesse 12b (H51),

54 plerumque] plerūq H51;
 55 Solœcisme] Solocisme 12b (ink corr. to lemma in

58-157 *Kings* . . . Danger.] not in 12b (H51)-24

the Security of *Italy*) made betwene *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; *Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, *Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millaine*. Neither is the 80 Opinion, of some of the Schoole-Men, to be received; *That a warre cannot justly be | made, but upon a precedent Injury*, [P3^v] *or Provocation*. For there is no Question, but a just Feare, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre. 85

For their *Wives*; There are Cruell Examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her husband: *Roxolana*, *Solymans* Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*; And otherwise troubled his House, and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen, had 90 the principall hand, in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the *Wives* have Plots, for the Raising of their owne Children; Or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their *Children*: The Tragedies, likewise, of dangers 95 from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha*, (that we named before) was so fatall to *Solymans* Line, as | the Succession [P4] of the *Turks*, from *Solyman*, untill this day, is suspected to 100 be untrue, and of strange Bloud; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both *Constantinus*, and *Constance*, his Sonnes, died 105 violent deaths; And *Constantius* his other Sonne, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that *Julianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Sonne to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples 110 there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were up, in open Armes against them; As was *Selymus* the first against *Bajazet*: And the three Sonnes of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*. 115

For their *Prelates*; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: | As it was, in the times of *Anselmus*, [P4^v]

and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*; who with their *Crosiars*, did almost try it, with the *Kings Sword*; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not from that *State*, but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority; Or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles*; To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility*; Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties, and Troubles; For the *Nobility*, though they continued loyall unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. |

[Q1] So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

For their *Second Nobles*; There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority, with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants*; They are *Vena porta*; And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, but will have empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts upon them, doe seldome good to the *Kings* Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leese in the Shire; The particular Rates being increased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons*; There is little danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; Or where | you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

For their *Men of warre*; It is a dangerous State, where they live and remaine in a Body, and are used to Donatives; whereof we see Examples in the *Janizaries*, and *Pretorian Bands* of *Rome*: But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in severall places, and under severall Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evill times; And which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, 160 in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo*; And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will. |

158 to] the *H51*; to the *12b-24* 160-3 All . . . Will.] *substantially this passage inserted in margin of H51 by Hand B (Bacon) (see the Frontispiece, above)* 162 or *Vice Dei*] *not in H51* bridleth] to bridle *12b (H51)-13a, 14; bribe 13b-13c; bridle 24*

Of Counsell. XX.

[Q2]

The greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of *Giving Counsell*. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their 5 Credit, some particular Affaire: But to such, as they make their *Counsellours*, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes*, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon 10 *Counsell*. God himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; *The Counsellour*. *Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsell is Stability*. Things will have their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed upon the | Arguments of *Counsell*, they will be [Q2^v] tossed upon the Waves of *Fortune*; And be full of Inconstancy, 16 doing, and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken man. *Salomons* Sonne found the Force of *Counsell*, as his Father

5 Children] *25(c)*; Child *12b (H51)-25(u)* 12-13 *Counsellour*.
Salomon] *25(c)*, *12b(c) (subs.)*, *H51 (subs.)*; *Counsellour Salomon 25(u)*, *12b(u) (subs.)*, *13a-24*

1 Of Counsell.] *essay not in 97a-12a* 2 XX.] *26. H51; 10. 12b-24*
3 Man and Man] *man 12b-13c, 24; men 14* 5 life] *their life 12b (H51)-*
24 Children] *child 12b (H51)-24* 12 Sonne; *The Counsellour.*] *Son*
(*the Counsellor.*) *12b(c)*, *12c*; *sonne the Counsellor.* *^ H51; Son.* *^ The Counsel-*
lor ^ 12b(u), *13a-25(u) (subs.)* 16 full] *interlined in H51 by Hand A*
17 undoing] *un interlined in H51 by Hand A* 18 Sonne] *sonnes H51*

saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloved Kingdome of God
 20 was first rent, and broken by ill *Counsell*; Upon which
Counsell, there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes,
 whereby *Bad Counsell* is, for ever, best discerned: That it was
young Counsell, for the Persons; And *Violent Counsell*, for
 the Matter.

25 The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the
 Incorporation, and inseparable Conjunction of *Counsel* with
Kings; And the wise and Politique use of *Counsell* by *Kings*:
 The one, in that they say, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which
 signifieth *Counsell*: Whereby they intend, that *Soveraignty*
 30 is married to *Counsell*: The other, in that which followeth,
 which was thus: They say after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*,
 she conceived by him, and was with Childe; but *Jupiter*
 [Q3] suffered her not to stay, | till she brought forth, but eat her
 up; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was delivered
 35 of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable,
 containeth a Secret of *Empire*; How *Kings* are to make use of
 their *Councell* of *State*. That first, they ought to referre
 matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregna-
 tion; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in
 40 the Wombe of their *Councell*, and grow ripe, and ready to be
 brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Councell* to
 goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it
 depended on them; But take the matter backe into their
 owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the
 45 Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come
 forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas*
Armed) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from
 their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to
 Themselves) from their *Head*, and *Device*.

[Q3^v] Let us now speake of the *Inconveniencies* | of *Counsell*,
 51 and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniencies*, that have been
 noted in calling, and using *Counsell*, are three. First, the

27 use of] *interlined in H51 by Hand A* 29 Whereby . . . that]
 So as 12b (H51)-24 *Soveraignty*] *Soveraignty* or authority 12b (H51)-24
 34 became himselfe] became 12b (H51)-24 35 *Pallas Armed*,] *Pallas* ^
 armed ^ H51; *Pallas*, armed ^ 12b-24 38 unto] to 12b (H51)-24
 41 That then] then that H51 43 on] upon 12b (H51), 12c matter]
 matters H51 44 Hands] hand 12b (H51)-24 47 proceeded]
 proceede H51 50-1 Let . . . *Remedies*.] *not in 12b (H51)-24*

Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret*. Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being 55 unfaithfully *counselled*, and more for the good of them that *counsell*, then of him that is *counselled*. For which *Inconveniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practise of *France*, in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Counsels*; A Remedy worse then the Disease. 60

As to *Secrecy*; *Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counsellors*; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let *Princes* beware, that the *unsecreting* of their Affaires, comes not 65 from Themselves. And as for *Cabinet Counsels*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum sum*: One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe | more hurt, then many, [Q4] that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go 70 beyond one or two persons, besides the *King*: Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous: For besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent *King*, such as is able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill*; And those *Inward* 75 *Counsellours*, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse, imparted himselfe to none, except it were to *Morton*, and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority*; The Fable sheweth the 80 *Remedy*. Nay the Majesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then

53 lesse] the lesse 13a-24 56 unfaithfully] unfaithfull 24
 57 that *counsell*, . . . *counselled*] that is counselled 12c 58 Practise]
 practice H51, 12b(u) 59 in . . . times] not in 12b (H51)-24
 60 Disease.] disease, w^{ch} hath tounred *Metis* the wife, to *Metis* the Mistresse,
 that is the councelles of State to w^{ch} Princes are solely married, to Counsellors
 of gracious persons recommended chiefly by flattery and affection. H51 (solely
 has been deleted and flattery and interlined by Hand B (Bacon)) 61 As
 to *Secrecy*; *Princes*] But for secrecy, Princes 12b(c), H51, 13a-24; But the
 secrecy ^ Princes, 12b(u), 12c 62 Counsellors] Counsellors H51 (reworked
 to Counsellors by Hand B (Bacon)) may] many 13c, 24 65 comes]
 come 12b (H51)-24 66 Themselves] their selves 13c, 24 Counsels]
 Counsell 12b (H51)-14 67 Motto] Mot 12b (H51)-24 69 conceale]
 keepe counsell H51 69-79 It . . . Fox.] not in 12b (H51)-24
 81-2 Nay . . . Counsell:] not in 12b (H51)-24

diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there ever *Prince*, bereaved of his Dependances, by [Q4^v] his *Councell*; Except where there hath beene, ei-|ther an
 85 Overgreatnesse in one *Counsellour*, Or an Overstrict Combination in Divers; which are Things soone found, and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsell with an Eye to themselves*; Certainly, *Non inveniet Fidem super*
 90 *terram*, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Involved: Let *Princes*, above all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, *Counsellours* are not Commonly so united, but that
 95 one *Counsellour* keepeth Centinell over Another; So that if any do *Counsell* out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the *Kings* Eare. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellours*, as well as their *Counsellours* know Them:

100 *Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.*

And on the other side, *Counsellours* should not be too Speculative, into their Soveraignes Person. The true Composi-|
 [R1] tion of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Advise
 105 him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsell*, both Seperately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort, Men
 110 are more obnoxious to others Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to

84 *Councell*] Coun-|cell 25(c); Coun-|sell 25(u)

85 one *Counsellour*] one 12b (H51)-24 86-7 which . . . holpen.]
 not in 12b (H51)-24 94 *Counsellours*] counsels 12b (H51)-24
 95 one *Counsellour*] one 12b (H51)-24 Centinell] Sentinells (s scratched out
 by Hand A) H51 95-7 So . . . Eare.] not in 12b (H51)-24 101 on]
 of 12b-24 108 Opinion before] opinion interlined in H51 by Hand B
 (Bacon) (cw before) Reverend] reverent 12b (H51)-24 109 Consort]
 comfort 14 111-12 to preserve Freedome] not in H51
 112-13 Consort, . . . Respect.] Companie H51

preserve Respect. It is in vaine for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise concerning Persons: For all *Matters*, are as dead Images; And 115 the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathematicall Description*, what the Kinde and | Character of the *Person* [R1^v] should be; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the 120 most Judgement is shewne, in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said; *Optimi Consilarii mortui*; *Books* will speake plaine, when *Counsellors* Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them; Specially the *Bookes* of such, as Themselves have been Actors upon the Stage. 125

The *Counsels*, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings; where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsell*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; 130 *In Nocte Consilium*. So was it done, in the Commission of *Union*, between *England* and *Scotland*; which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions: For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they 135 may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees, for | ripening [R2] Businesse, for the *Counsell*, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also *standing Commissions*; As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; 140 for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular *Counsels*, and but one *Counsell* of Estate, (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then *Standing Commissions*; Save that they have greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe *Counsels*, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, 145 Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before *Committees*; And then, as Occasion serves, before the *Counsell*.

114 no] not H51 115 Matters] matter 13b, 13c 119 the ... Person] kind of person 12b (H51)-24 120 be;] be, but in *individuo*: 12b (H51)-13b, 14; be; in *Individuo* 13c, 24 Errours are committed] errors 12b (H51)-24 121 most ... shewne] greatest judgement [judgements 13a-24] are shewed 12b (H51)-24 121-5 It ... Stage.] not in H51 126-58 The ... Placebo.] not in 12b (H51)-24

And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious
 Manner; For that is, to clamour *Counsels*, not to enforme
 150 them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the
 Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance;
 For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all
 [R2^v] the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is | more use of
 the *Counsellours* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he
 155 presides in *Counsell*, let him beware how he Opens his owne
 Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For
 else *Counsellours* will but take the Winde of him; And in
 stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 6 *Affaire*:] 25(c); ~; 25(u) 79 *Morton*,]
 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u) 109 bold] 25(c); bould 25(u) Consort,] 25(c);
 ~ ^ 25(u) 110 obnoxious] 25(c); obnoxious 25(u) 111 both:]
 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u) 116 *Life*] 25(c); ~, 25(u) 117, 118 *Persons*]
 25(c); *Persons* 25(u) 154 *Counsellours*] 25(c); *Counsellours* 25(u)

[R3]

Of Delayes.

XXI.

Fortune is like the *Market*; Where many times, if you can
 stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is sometimes
 5 like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at
 full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the
 Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common verse) *turneth*
a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front,
and no hold taken: Or at least turneth the Handle of the
 10 Bottle, first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard
 to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to
 time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no
 more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers have
 deceived Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet
 [R3^v] some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing | neare,
 16 then to keepe too long a watch, upon their Approaches; For

1 Of Delayes.] *Cl A*, *Cl B*; *essay not in 97a-24* 4-5 sometimes like]
 like *Cl A*, *Cl B* 5 offereth] offers *Cl A*, *Cl B* 6 holdeth] holdes
Cl A, *Cl B* 9 Or at least turneth] turneth *Cl A*, *Cl B* 14 forced]
 feared *Cl A*, *Cl B* 16-17 For . . . odds he will] so it is not good to stay
 too long least a man *Cl A*, *Cl B*

if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceived, with too long Shadowes, (As some have been, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And so to shoot off before the time; Or to 20 teach dangers to come on, by over early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripenesse, or Unripenesse, of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to *Argos* with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to 25 *Briareus* with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Invisible, is, *Secrecy* in the Counsell, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; Like 30 the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye. |

18 Shadowes] shaddowe Cl B	20 backe] backs Cl A, Cl B	shoot off] shoar of Cl A, Cl B
tackling Cl A, Cl B	21 come on] come in Cl A, Cl B	Buckling]
27 <i>Pluto</i>] Plato Cl A, Cl B	25-6 hundred . . . hundred] 100 . . . 100 Cl A, Cl B	
maketh] makes Cl A, Cl B	28 in the] in Cl A, Cl B	and] or Cl A, Cl B
29 the Execution] execution Cl A	30 no <i>Secrecy</i>] Secrecy Cl A, Cl B	31 flyeth] flies Cl A, Cl B
32 out-runs] runs out of Cl A; outruns Cl B		

<i>Emendation of Accidentals.</i>	3 times,] 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u)	7 Occasion]
25(c); Occasion 25(u)	12 Things.] 25(c); ~; 25(u)	15 Dangers]
25(c); dangers 25(u)		

Of Cunning. XXII.

[R4]

We take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wise* Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point 5 of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canvasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand

1 Of Cunning.] essay not in 97a-H51
4 great] a great 12b-24

2 XXII.] 4. 12b-24

10 Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not
greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse; Which is the
Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more then
Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise, then for Counsell;
[R4^v] And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to
16 New | Men, and they have lost their Ayme; So as the old
Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos
ad ignotos, et videbis*; doth scarce hold for them. And because
these *Cunning Men*, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it
is not amisse to set forth their Shop.

20 It is a point of *Cunning*; to wait upon him, with whom you
speake, with your eye; As the Jesuites give it in precept: For
there be many Wise Men, that have Secret Hearts, and
Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with
a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Jesuites
25 also doe use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine of
present dispatch, you entertaine, and amuse the party, with
whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not
too much awake, to make Objections. I knew a *Counsellor*
30 and *Secretary*, that never came to *Queene Elizabeth* of
England, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put
[S1] her into some discourse of Estate, that she mought | the
lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Moving things, when
35 the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider advisedly,
of that is moved.

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some
other would handsomely and effectually move, let him
pretend to wish it well, and move it himselfe, in such sort,
40 as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to
say, as if he tooke himselfe up, breeds a greater Appetite in
him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth
45 to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of
your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing
another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the

end, to give Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change? As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.* |

50

In Things, that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice, by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance so that he may be asked the Question upon the others Speech; As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*. [S1^v]

55

In things, that a Man would not be seen in himselfe; It is a Point of *Cunning*, to borrow the Name of the World; As to say; *The World sayes*, Or, *There is a speech abroad*.

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall, in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-matter. 60

I knew another, that when he came to have Speech, he would passe over that, that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almost forgot. 65

Some procure themselves, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like the party that they work upon, will suddenly come | upon them: And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter. [S2]

70

It is a Point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would have another Man learne, and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves; And would conferre, one with another, upon the Businesse; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it: The other, straight caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the *Queene*; Who hearing of a *Declination* | of a *Monarchy*, [S2^v]

80

86 tooke it so ill, as she would never after heare of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The Turning of the Cat in the Pan*; which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it
90 to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, from which of them, it first moved and began.

It is a way, that some men have, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Justifying themselves, by Negatives; As to say,
95 *This I doe not: As Tigillinus did towards Burrhus; Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap
100 it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would have, in his owne Words, and Propositi-
[S3] ons; For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

105 It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters they will beat over, to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

110 A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

115 But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that *Cunning Men* passe for *Wise*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and
120 Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine of it: Like [S3^v] a House, that hath convenient Staires, and | Entries, but

115-18 But . . . *Wise*.] Very many are the differences betweene cunning and wisdom: and it were a good deed to set them downe: for that nothing doth more hurte in state then that cunning men passe for wise. 12b-24 (after Dolos., line 129)

119 But . . . are,] Even in businesse there are some, 12b-24

never a faire Roome. Therefore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) *Putting Tricks upon them*; Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But *Salomon* saith; *Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus divertit ad Dolos.* | 125

126 the . . . others] abusing others 12b-24

<i>Emendation of Accidentals.</i>	44 better,] 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u)	54 Speech;]
~. 25	68 like] ~, 25	73 Words,] 25(c); ~; 25(u)
90 him.] 25(c); ~; 25(u)	95 <i>Burrrhus</i> ;] 25(c); ~. 25(u)	106 And]
25(c); and 25(u)	107 fetch; And] 25(c); ~, and 25(u)	108 it.]
25(c); ~; 25(u)	110 sudden,] 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u)	112 Name, and]
25(c); ~; And 25(u)	116 infinite:] 25(c); ~; 25(u)	118 Men]
25(c); ~; 25(u)		

Of Wisedome
for a Mans selfe.
XXIII.

[S4]

An *Ant* is a *wise Creature* for it Selfe; But it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great *Lovers of Themselves*, waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene *Selfe-love*, and *Society*: And be so true to thy *Selfe*, as thou be not false to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, *Himselfe*. It is right Earth. For that onely stands fast upon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a *Mans Selfe*, is more tolerable in a Sovereigne | Prince; Because *Themselves* are not onely *Themselves*; But their Good and Evill, is at the perill of the

1-2 Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe.] *essay not in 97a-12a*; Wisdome for a mans selfe. 12b-13a, 14 3 XXIII.] 2. H51; 16. 12b-24 4 is a] is (cw a) H51 5 Garden] a garden H51 (a *interlined in H51 by Hand A*) 6 Publique] *puplike 12b (ink corr. in 8 of 15 copies to publike)* 8-9 Specially . . . Country.] *not in 12b (H51)-24* 9 a Mans] *a interlined in H51 by Hand A* 13 tolerable] *intollerable 12c* 14 not onely] *not 12b (H51)-24*

Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Evill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoever Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentrick to the
 20 Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Servants, as have not this marke; Except they meane their Service should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough, for the
 25 Servants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Servants; which set
 30 a Bias upon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and [T1] Envies, to the overthrow of their | Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the Modell of their own Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Modell of their
 35 Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme *Selfe-Lovers*; As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges: And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters; Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit *Themselves*: And for either respect,
 40 they will abandon the Good of their Affaires.

Wisedome for a Mans selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing. It is the *Wisedome of Rats*, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisedome of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who
 45 digged and made Roome for him. It is the *Wisedome of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would devoure. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as *Cicero* saies of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*,
 [T1^v] are | many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all
 50 their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end

18 Hands] handes *corr.* to hande in H51 by Hand A; hand 12b (H51)-24
 23 That] And that 12b (H51)-24 24 is] it 12b-13b, 14
 26 Servant] servants 12b (H51)-24 28-32 of Bad . . . Affaires.] *not in*
 12b (H51)-24 32 And . . . part] for 12b (H51)-24 36 on]
 one 12b 37 Egges] egge H51 41-53 *Wisedome* . . . Pinnioned.]
not in 12b (H51)-24

themselves Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisedome*, to have Pinnioned. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 24 lost.] 25(c); ~; 25(u)
which] 25(c); ~ ^ ~, 25(u)

47 those,

Of Innovations.

[T2]

XXIII.

As the Births of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen:
So are all *Innovations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet
notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their 5
Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed:
So the first President (if it be good) is seldome attained by
Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands perverted,
hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good,
as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* 10
is an *Innovation*; And he that will not apply New Remedies,
must expect New Evils: For Time is the greatest *Innovatour*:
And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and
Wisedome, | and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, [T2^v]
what shall be the End? It is true, that what is setled by 15
Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And
those Things, which have long gone together, are as it were
confederate within themselves: Whereas New Things peece
not so well; But though they helpe by their utility, yet
they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like 20
Strangers; more Admired, and lesse Favoured. All this is true,
if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that
a Froward Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as

1 Of Innovations.] <i>Cl A, Cl B, Ph; essay not in 97a-24</i>	3 Living] all
living <i>Cl A, Cl B</i>	first] the first <i>Ph</i>
<i>Cl B</i> <i>Innovations, . . . Time</i>] the innovations of tyme <i>Ph</i>	4 So are] so be <i>Cl A,</i>
families <i>Cl A, Cl B</i>	6 Family]
8-10 For Ill, . . . first] <i>not in Ph</i>	9 Con-
tinuance] the Continuance <i>Cl A, Cl B</i>	10 a Forced] forced <i>Cl A,</i>
<i>Cl B</i> strongest] is strongest <i>Cl A, Cl B, Ph</i>	12 <i>Innovatour</i>] Innovation
<i>Cl A, Cl B, Ph</i>	14 alter] strive to alter <i>Cl A, Cl B, Ph</i>
what] y ^t w ^{ch} <i>Cl A, Cl B</i>	15 that
Things] thing <i>Cl B</i>	18 confederate] confederates <i>Cl A, Cl B</i>
As <i>Ph</i>	20 Inconformity] incongruitie <i>Ph</i>
	21 All]

an *Innovation*: And they that Reverence too much Old Times,
 25 are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that
 Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of
 Time it selfe; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly,
 and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: For otherwise,
 whatsoever is New, is unlooked for; And ever it mends Some,
 30 and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune,
 [T3] and thanks | the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and
 imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experi-
 ments in States; Except the Necessity be Urgent, or the utility
 Evident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation,
 35 that draweth on the Change; And not the desire of Change,
 that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the
Novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a Suspect:
 And, as the Scripture saith; *That we make a stand upon the*
Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discover, what is
 40 *the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.* |

24 an] not in Ph	25 that] if Cl A	26 their] these Cl A, Cl B
27 <i>Innovateth</i>] Innovates Cl A, Cl B	29 unlooked] unlookt Cl A, Cl B	
30 Other] others Cl A, Cl B, Ph	for] as Ph	31 and . . . Time] not
in Ph for a] to ye Cl A, Cl B		31-2 and imputeth . . . Author.]
not in Ph	32 imputeth] imputes Cl A, Cl B	not to try] to try Cl A,
Cl B	33 or] and Ph	34 Evident] be evident Cl A And] as
Cl A beware] waigh Cl A, Cl B	be the] be Cl A, Cl B; be a Ph	the]
a Ph	35 on the] a Ph	the] a Ph
Ph what] w ^c h Cl A, Cl B		39 Way] wayes

[T3^v]

Of Dispatch.

XXV.

Affected Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to
 Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians
 5 call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*; which is sure to fill the
 Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore,
 measure not *Dispatch*, by the Times of Sitting, but by the
 Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the
 large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in

1 Of Dispatch.] essay not in 97a-12a
 8-11 And . . . Dispatch.] not in 12b (H51)-24

2 XXV.] 17. H51; 11. 12b-24

Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of 10
 it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of
 Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contrive
 some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme *Men of*
Dispatch. But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate by Contracting, [T4]
 Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at severall 15
 Sittings or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward,
 in an unsteady Manner. I knew a *Wise Man*, that had it for
 a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay*
a little, that we may make an End the sooner.

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich Thing. For Time 20
 is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And
 Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small
dispatch. The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, have been noted to
 be of Small *dispatch*; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna*; *Let my*
Death come from Spaine; For then it will be sure to be long 25
 in comming.

Give good Hearing to those, that give the first Information
 in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning, then
 interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he
 that is put out of his owne Order, will goe forward and 30
 backward, and be more tedious while he waits | upon his [T4v]
 Memory, then he could have been, if he had gone on, in his
 owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is
 more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of Time: But there is no 35
 such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the
Question: For it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech, as it
 is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for
Dispatch, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Train, is for Race.
 Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches 40
 of Reference to the Person, are great wasts of Time; And
 though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery.
 Yet beware of being too Materiall, when there is any

14 Abbreviate] make short 12b (H51)-24 15-17 at ... Manner.] by
 peeces, is commonly protracted in the whole. 12b (H51)-24 17 that
 had] had 12b (H51)-24 20 other] either H51 21 Wares]
 Warres 14 23-6 The ... comming.] not in 12b (H51)-24
 28 rather] interlined in H51 by Hand A (Bacon) 31 backward] backwards
 12b (H51)-24 31-3 while ... course.] by parcels, then he could have
 bin at once. 12b (H51)-24 41 Time] times 13c, 24

Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation
 45 of Minde, ever requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomenta-
 tion to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out
 of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*; So as the *Distribution* be not |
 [V1] too subtile: For he that doth not divide, will never enter well
 50 into *Businesse*; And he that divideth too much, will never
 come out of it clearly. To choose Time, is to save Time;
 And an Unseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There
 be three Parts of *Businesse*: The *Preparation*; The *Debate*, or
Examination; And the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you looke for
 55 *Dispatch*, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and
 the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding upon
 somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part
 facilitate *Dispatch*: For though it should be wholly rejected,
 yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of Direction, then an
 60 *Indefinite*; As Ashes are more Generative then Dust. |

44 Wils] will 12b-24

12b (H51)-24

47-8 and . . . *Parts*,] not in 12b (H51)-24

12b (H51)-24

44-5 Pre-occupation of Minde] preoccupation

45 preface of Speech] preface 12b (H51)-24

59 Direction] a direction

[V1^v]

Of Seeming wise.

XXVI.

It hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they
 seeme; And the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But
 5 howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between
 Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godlinesse*; *Having*
a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof; So
 certainly, there are in Point of *Wisedome*, and *Sufficiency*,
 that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly; *Magno conatu*
 10 *Nugas*. It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons
 of Judgement, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and

8 Point] 25 (second-state corr.); Points 25(u)

1 Of Seeming wise.] essay not in 97a-12a

13a-24; 17. 12c

judgements 13a-24

8 Point] Points 25(u)

2 XXVI.] 6. H51; 20. 12b,

11 Judgement]

what Prospectives, to make *Superficies* to seeme *Body*, that
 hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserved, as
 they will not shew | their Wares, but by a darke Light; And [V2]
 seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat: And when they 15
 know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not
 well know, would neverthesse seeme to others, to know of
 that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves
 with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signes; As
Cicero saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched 20
 one of his Browes, up to his Forehead, and bent the other
 downe to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato,*
altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non
placere. Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word,
 and being peremptory; And goe on, and take by admittance 25
 that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is
 beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it,
 as Impertinent, or Curious; And so would have their Ignorance
 seeme Judgement. Some are never without a Difference, and
 commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the 30
 matter; | Of whom *A. Gellius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui* [V2v]
Verborum Minutiis Rerum frangit Pondera. Of which kinde
 also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorne,
 and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions
 from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all 35
 Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative Side; and
 affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties: For when
 propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they
 be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of
 Wisedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no 40
 decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks,
 to uphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons
 have, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming*

12 Prospectives] perspectives 12b (H51)-13b, 14; respectives 13c, 24
 21 Forehead] forward 13b, 13c, 24 23 Mentum] mentem 12b (H51),
 13a-24; mentū 12c 25 goe] will goe 12b (H51)-24 27 will]
 they will 12b (H51)-24 despise . . . it] despise or make light of 12b (H51),
 13a-24; make light of 12c 31 A. Gellius] Gellius 12b (H51)-24
 35 Generally] But generally H51 37 Difficulties] difficulties H51
 38 propositions] proportions 12c, 13a-24 42 the Credit] their Credit
 corr. by Hand A in H51 to lemma 43-7 Seeming . . . Formall.] not in
 12b (H51)-24

Wise-men may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man
 45 choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were
 better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then
 over Formall. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 5 certainly] 25 (*third-state corr.*); Certainly
 25(u) 14 Light;] 25 (*third-state corr.*); ~: 25(u) 15 somewhat;]
 25 (*third-state corr.*); ~; 25(u) 29 Difference] Dif-ference 25 (*third-*
state corr.); dif-ference 25(u)

[V3]

Of Friendship. XXVII.

It had beene hard for him that spake it, to have put more
 Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech;
 5 *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast,*
or a God. For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret
 Hatred, and Aversation towards *Society*, in any Man, hath
 somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue, that it
 should have any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature;

1 Of Friendship.] *H51 (imperfect); essay not in 97a-12a; 25 completely
 rewritten; 12b (H51)-24 version as follows:* There is no greater desert or
 wildernes then to bee without true friends. For without friendship, society is
 but meeting. And as it is certaine, that in bodies [*H51 begins:*] inanimate, union
 strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst
 men, friendship multiplieth joies, and divideth griefes. Therefore whosoever
 wanteth fortitude, let him worshippe *Friendship*. For the yoke of *Friendship*
 maketh the yoke of *fortune* more light. There bee some whose lives are, as if they
 perpetually plaid upon a stage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselves.
 But perpetuall dissimulation is painfull; and hee that is all *Fortune*, and no
Nature is an exquisit *Hierling*. Live not in continuall smother [smoother *H51*], but
 take some friends with whom to communicate. It will unfold thy understanding;
 it will evaporate thy affections; it will prepare thy businesse. A man may keepe
 a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to wnesse to himselfe, that
 it is not upon facility, but upon true use of friendship that hee imparteth himselfe.
 Want of true friends, as it is the reward of perfidious natures; so is it an imposition
 upon great fortunes. The one deserve it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore
 it is good to retaine sincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that
 the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall have. Perfection of friendship,
 is but a speculation. It is friendship, when a man can say to himselfe, I love this
 man without respect of utility. I am open hearted to him, I single him from the
 [frō the 12b(c); the 12b(u)] generality of those with [with *interlined in H51 by*
Hand A] whom I live; I make him a portion of my owne wishes. 2 XXVII.]
 [1.] *H51; 13. 12b-24*

Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out 10
of a Love and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher
Conversation: Such as is found, to have been falsely and
fainedly, in some of the Heathen; As *Epimenides* the Candian,
Numa | the Roman, *Empedocles* the Sicilian, and *Apollonius* [v3v]
of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient 15
Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men
perceive, what *Solitude* is, and how farre it extendeth. For
a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of
Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*, where there is
no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna* 20
Civitas, *Magna solitudo*; Because in a great Towne, *Friends* are
scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most
Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe
further, and affirme most truly; That it is a meere, and
miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Friends*; without which the 25
World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this sense also of
Solitude, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections,
is unfit for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from
Humanity.

A principall *Fruit* of *Friendship*, is the Ease and Discharge 30
of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions |
of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of [v4]
Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the
body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may
take *Sarza* to open the Liver; *Steele* to open the Spleene; 35
Flower of *Sulphur* for the Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Braine;
But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true *Frend*; To
whom you may impart, Griefes, Joyes, Feares, Hopes,
Suspensions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart, to
opresse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift or Confession. 40

It is a Strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate, Great
Kings and Monarchs, do set upon this *Fruit* of *Friendship*,
wherof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times,
at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For
Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that 45
of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this *Fruit*;
Except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some

36 *Flower*] 25(u); *Flowers* 25 (*third-state* corr.)
25 (*first-state* corr.); highly . . . & 25(u)

41-2 high . . . and]

Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to
 [V4^v] themselves, which many | times sorteth to Inconvenience.
 50 The Moderne Languages give unto such Persons, the Name of
Favorites, or *Privadoes*; As if it were Matter of Grace, or
 Conversation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use,
 and Cause thereof; Naming them *Participes Curarum*; For it is
 that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath
 55 been done, not by Weake and Passionate *Princes* onely, but
 by the Wisest, and most Politique that ever reigned; Who have
 oftentimes joyned to themselves, some of their Servants;
 Whom both Themselves have called *Frends*; And allowed
 Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Using the
 60 Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey*
 (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Heighth, that *Pompey*
 vaunted Himselfe for Sylla's Overmatch. For when he had
 carried the *Consulship* for a Frend of his, against the pursuit
 65 of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began
 [X1] to speake great, *Pompey* turned upon him | againe, and in
 effect bad him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the*
Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting. With *Julius Cæsar*,
Decimus Brutus had obtained that Interest, as he set him
 70 downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his
Nephew. And this was the Man, that had power with him,
 to draw him forth to his death. For when *Cæsar* would have
 discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, and
 specially a Dreame of *Calpurnia*; This Man lifted him gently
 75 by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he
 would not dismisse the Senate, till his wife had dreamt
 a better Dreame. And it seemeth, his favour was so great, as
Antonius in a Letter, which is recited *Verbatim*, in one of
Cicero's Philippiques, calleth him *Venefica*, *Witch*; As if he
 80 had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of
 meane Birth) to that Heighth, as when he consulted with
Mæcenus, about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenus*
 tooke the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either marry his*
 [X1^v] *Daughter to | Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no*
 85 *third way, he had made him so great.* With *Tiberius Cæsar*,
Sejanus had ascended to that Height, as they Two were
 tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of *Frends*. *Tiberius* in

a Letter to him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitia nostrâ non occultavi*: And the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar to *Friendship*, as to a *Goddesse*, in respect of the great Dearenesse of *Friendship*, 90 between them Two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus*, and *Plautianus*. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of *Plautianus*; And would often maintaine *Plautianus*, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; *I love the Man so* 95 *well, as I wish he may over-live me*. Now if these Princes, had beene as a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, A Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Severitie of minde, and so Extreme Lovers of Themselves, 100 as all these were; It proveth | most plainly, that they found [X2] their owne Felicitie (though as great as ever happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought have a *Friend* to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wives, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these 105 could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Communeus* observeth, of his first Master *Duke Charles the Hardy*; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth 110 on, and saith, That towards his Latter time; *That closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his understanding*. Surely *Communeus* mought have made the same Judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master *Lewis the Eleventh*, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of 115 *Pythagoras* is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito; Eat not the Heart*. Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Friends* to open | themselves unto, are Canniballs [X2V] of their owne *Hearts*. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit of friendship*) 120 which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his *Friend*, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth *Joyes*, and cutteth *Griefes* in Halves. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Joyes* to his *Friend*, but he *joyeth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his *Griefes* to his *Friend*, but hee 125 *grieveth* the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute

to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But yet,
 130 without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, *Union* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And euen so is it of Minds.

- [X3] The second *Fruit of Friendship*, is | Healthfull and Sovereigne
 136 for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Friendship* maketh indeed a *faire Day* in the *Affections*, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh *Day-light* in the *Understanding*, out of Darknesse and Confusion of Thoughts.
 140 Neither is this to be understood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his *Frend*; But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up, in the Communicating and discoursing with
 145 Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of
 150 *Persia*; That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure; whereas
 [X3^v] in Thoughts, they | lie but as in Packs. Neither is this Second *Fruit of Friendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained onely to such *Friends*, as are able to give a Man Counsell:
 155 (They indeed are best;) But even, without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.
 160 Adde now, to make this Second *Fruit of Friendship* compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is *Faithfull Counsell* from a *Frend*. *Heraclitus* saith well, in one of his *Ænigmaes*; *Dry Light is ever the best*. And certaine it is, that the Light,
 165 that a Man receiveth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Understanding, and Judgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his

Affections and Customes. So as, there is as much | difference, [X4]
 betweene the *Counsell*, that a *Frend* giveth, and that a Man
 giveth himselfe, as there is between the *Counsell* of a *Frend*, 170
 and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Mans
 Selfe; And there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of
 a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a *Frend*. *Counsell* is of two
 Sorts; The one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning
Businesse. For the First; The best Preservative to keep the 175
 Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a *Frend*. The
 Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine,
 sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Bookes
 of *Morality*, is a little Flat, and Dead. Observing our Faults in
 Others, is sometimes unproper for our Case. But the best 180
 Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the
 Admonition of a *Frend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what
 grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of
 the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a *Frend*, to tell
 them of them; To the great dam-|image, both of their Fame, [X4^v]
 and Fortune. For, as *S. James* saith, they are as Men, *that* 186
looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own
Shape, and Favour. As for *Businesse*, a Man may thinke, if he
 will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester
 seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, 190
 is as Wise as he, that hath said over the foure and twenty
 Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell upon
 the Arme, as upon a Rest; And such other fond and high
 Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is
 done, the Helpe of good *Counsell*, is that, which setteth 195
Businesse straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take
Counsell, but it shall be by Peeces; Asking *Counsell* in one
Businesse of one Man, and in another *Businesse* of another
 Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked
 none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall 200
 not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it
 be from a perfect and entire *Frend*, to have *Counsell* given,
 but such | as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which [Y1]
 he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have *Counsell*
 given, hurtfull, and unsafe, (though with good Meaning) and 205

178 Corrosive] 25(c); Corrasive 25(u)
 saith; They looke 25(u)

186-7 saith, . . . looke] 25(c);

mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you complaine of, but is unacquainted with your body; And therefore, may put you in way for
 210 a present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kinde; And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Freind*, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Businesse*, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And therefore, rest not upon
 215 *Scattered Counsels*; They will rather distract, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble *Fruits of Frendship*; (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgement*;) followeth the last *Fruit*; which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels;
 [Y1V] I meane *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part*, | in all *Actions*, and
 221 *Occasions*. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold use of *Frendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to
 225 say, *That a Frend is another Himselfe*: For that a *Frend* is farre more then *Himselfe*. Men have their Time, and die many times in desire of some Things, which they principally take to Heart; The Bestowing of a Child, The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man have a true *Frend*, he may
 230 rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where *Frendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise
 235 them by his *Frend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with
 [Y2] modesty, | much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg; And a number of the like. But
 240 all these Things, are Gracefull in a *Frends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but

as a Husband; To his Enemy, but upon Termes: whereas
 a *Frend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth
 with the Person. But to enumerate these Things were endlesse:
 I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne
 Part: If he have not a *Frend*, he may quit the Stage. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 14 Sicilian] 25 (*third-state corr.*); Scicilian 25(u)
 18 And] 25 (*third-state corr.*); and 25(u) 21, 25 *Frends*] 25 (*third-state*
corr.); *Friends* 25(u) 28, 30, 42 *Friendship*] 25 (*third-state corr.*);
Friendship 25(u) 37 *Frend*; To] 25 (*third-state corr.*); *Friend*, to 25(u)
 67 bad] 25(c); bade 25(u) 69 *Brutus*] 25(c); ~, 25(u) 70 *Heire*
 in Remainder,] 25(c); ~, ~ ~ 25(u) 74 *Calpurnia*] *Cal-purnia* 25(c);
Cal-furnia 25(u) 79 *Philippiques*] 25(c); *Philipiques* 25(u)
 81 *Heighth*] 25(c); *Height* 25(u) 82 *Mæcenas*^{1,2}] *Mæcenas* 25
 90 *Friendship*] 25(c); *Friendship* 25(u) 92, 93, 94 *Plautianus*] *Plantianus*
 25 94 *Son*;] 25(c); ~; 25(u) 104 *Entire*;] 25(c); ~; 25(u)
 116 *edito*;] 25(c); ~, 25(u) 117 *Phrase*;] 25(c); ~; 25(u)
 139 *Darknesse*] 25(c); *darknesse* 25(u) *Confusion*] *Confusi-on* 25(c); *confusi-*
on 25(u) 148 *Dayes*] 25(c); *dayes* 25(u) 151 *Figure*;] 25(c);
 ~, 25(u) 154 *Counsell*;] 25(c); ~; 25(u) 155 *best*;] ~ 25
 186 *For*;] 25(c); ~ 25(u) 188 *and*] 25(c); & 25(u) *thinke*] 25(u);
think 25(c) 201 *Thing*;] 25(c); ~ 25(u)

Of Expence. XXVIII.

[Y2^v]

Riches are for Spending; And Spending for Honour and good
 Actions. Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limited
 by the Worth of the Occasion: For *Voluntary Undoing*, may
 be aswell for a Mans *Country*, as for the *Kingdome of Heaven*.
 But *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a Mans
 Estate; And governed with such regard, as it be within his
Compass; And not subject to Deceit and Abuse of Servants;
 And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bills may be lesse,
 then the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but
 of Even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be, but to the
 Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but |

1 Of Expence.] *essay not in H67*; Of Expences *T*, *H51*, 12b-13a, 14
 2 XXVIII.] 6. *C*, *H62*, *L*, *T*, 97a-12a, 12c; 8. *H51*; 18. 12b, 13a-24
 4 *Extraordinary Expence*] *extraordinary L* 5 the Worth of the Occasion]
deleted; a mans estate and governed *interlined H62* 5-7 For . . . limited
 by] *not in H62* 7 ought to] *must deleted, lemma interlined H62*
 8 as] as that *T* 9 Deceit] the deceit *L* 11-14 Certainly, . . .
 Part.] *not in Σ*, 97a-24

[Y3] to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse, for the Greatest, to
 15 descend and looke into their owne *Estate*. Some forbear it,
 not upon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselves
 into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But
 Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot
 looke into his own Estate at all, had need both Choose well,
 20 those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New
 are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into
 his Estate but seldome, it behoveth him to turne all to
 Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some
 kinde of *Expence*, to be as Saving againe, in some other. As
 25 if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Saving in Apparell: If he be
 Plentifull in the Hall, to be Saving in the Stable: And the like.
 For he that is Plentifull in *Expences* of all Kindes, will hardly
 be preserved from Decay. In Clearing of a Mans Estate, he
 may as well hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting
 [Y3v] it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is common-ly as
 31 Disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once,
 will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights, he will
 revert to his Customes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees,
 induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well upon his
 35 Minde, as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to
 repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is
 lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope
 to pettie Gettings. A Man ought warily to beginne Charges,
 which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne
 40 not, he may be more Magnificent. |

15 into] in <i>T</i>	their] his <i>H62 Estate</i>] estates <i>12b, 13a-24</i>	16 upon]
of <i>C</i>	Negligence] intelligence <i>H62, L, T</i>	to bring Themselves] to fall <i>L</i> ; to
put them selves <i>T</i> ;	themselves for falling <i>H62</i>	17 in . . . it] fyndeinge
theyr estate <i>L</i>	18 He] and he <i>L</i>	19 Estate at all] estate, Σ ,
<i>97a-H51</i>	20 those whom] them whome <i>L</i> ; those <i>H62</i>	and] yea and
Σ , <i>H62, L, T, 97a-H51</i>	often] after <i>97a</i>	21-3 He . . . Certainties.]
not in Σ , <i>97a-H51</i>	22 it behoveth him to] had need <i>12b-24</i>	
23-8 A . . . Decay.] not in Σ , <i>97a-24</i>	30 runne on] runne out <i>C</i> ; runne	
<i>H62</i>	31-5 Besides, . . . Estate.] not in Σ , <i>97a-H51</i>	32 Straights,
he] straight, hee <i>12b</i> (<i>first-state corr.</i>); straught, hee <i>12b(u)</i>		35 Certainly,
who] He that Σ , <i>97a-H51</i>	36 despise] diseise <i>H62</i>	is] interlined <i>H62</i>
37 dishonourable] dishonour <i>C</i>	38 ought . . . Charges] to beginne	
charges warily <i>L</i>	39 which once] w ^{ch} <i>C</i> ; when once <i>T</i>	will] must <i>C</i> ,
<i>H62, L, 97a-24</i> ; he must <i>T</i>	Matters] matter <i>13b, 13c, 24</i>	39-40 returne
not] happen not often <i>L</i> ; not <i>T</i> (<i>with blank</i>)	40 Magnificent] liberall <i>C</i>	

Of the true Great-
nesse of Kingdomes and
Estates.
XXIX.

[Y4]

The Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was Haughtie 5
and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a
Grave and Wise Observation and Censure, applied at large to
others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could*
not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great
Citty. These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore) may 10
expresse two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse
of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken, of Counsellours and
Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which
can make a *Small State Great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle*: As on
the other side, there | will be found a great many, that can [Y4^v]
fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to 16
make a *Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way;
To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay.
And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby
many Counsellours and Governours, gaine both *Favour* with 20
their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no
better Name then *Fidling*; Being Things, rather pleasing for

1-3 Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and *Estates.*] *Qu, Pu* (States); Of the
greatnesse of Kingdomes. 12b-24; *essay not in 97a-H51* 4 XXIX.] 38.
12b, 13a-24; 29. 12c 5 *Themistocles* the *Athenian*] *Themistocles* 12b-
24 (*Themistocles* 13b, 13c) 5-8 Haughtie . . . others.] arrogant in
challenge, is profitable in censure. 12b-24 8 Feast] banquet 12b-24
9 *but yet*] *but* 12b-24 *Towne,*] *Towne to become* 12b-24 10-12 These
. . . Estate.] This speech at a time of solace, and not serious, was uncivill, and at
no time could be decent of a mans selfe. But it may have a pretie application:
12b-24 12 if . . . taken,] to speake truly 12b-24 Counsellours]
politikes 12b-24 13 may be found] are sometimes 12b-24 which]
that 12b-24, *Qu* 14 *State*] estate 12b-24 and yet]
and 12b-24 14-15 As . . . great] And there bee 12b-24
16-18 but . . . Decay.] and yet the procedure of their Art is to make a flourishing
estate ruinous and distressed. 12b-24 19 And] For 12b-24 Arts
and Shifts] Arts 12b-24 20 many Counsellours] divers politikes 12b-24
gaine] doe gaine 12b-24 *Favour*] satisfaction 12b-24 21 Estimation]
admiration 12b-24 22-37 Being . . . Counsells.] if they adde nothing
to the safetie, strength, and amplitude of the States they governe. 12b-24

the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending to the Weale and Advancement of the State, which they serve.

25 There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Góvernours, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotiis pares*,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniencies; which neverthesse, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes,

30 and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let us speake of the Worke; That is; The true *Greatnesse of*

[21] *Kingdomes and | Estates*; and the *Meanes* thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to have in their hand; To the end, that neither by Over-measuring their

35 Forces, they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells.

The *Greatnesse* of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall under Measure; And the *Greatnesse* of Finances and

40 Renew doth fall under Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters: And the Number and *Greatnesse* of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Civill Affaires, more subject to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Judgement, concerning

45 the Power and Forces of an Estate. The *Kingdome of Heaven* is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine of Mustard-seed*; which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So

[21^v] are there States, great in Ter-|ritorie, and yet not apt to

50 Enlarge, or Command; And some, that have but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

26 may be held] maye held <i>Pu</i>	28 Inconveniencies] dangers <i>Pu, Qu</i>
29 Power, Meanes] meanes, power <i>Pu, Qu</i>	35 leese] loose <i>Qu</i>
38 and] or 12b-24	41 Number and Greatnesse] number 12b-24
42 Cards] Carts 12b, 12c; Chartes 13a-24	42-3 not any Thing amongst]
nothing among 12b-24	44 true Judgement] judgement 12c
45 Power and Forces] greatnes 12b-24	Estate.] estate. Certainly there is
a kind of resemblance betweene the Kingdome of heaven, and the Kingdomes	47 <i>Mustard-seed</i>] Musterd
[Kingdome 13c, 24] upon the earth. 12b-24	49 States, great] States, that are
12b-24 least] least of 12b-13a, 14	50 Enlarge, or Command] conquer or inlarge 12b-24
great 12b-24	51 of] or 12b-24 yet apt] apt <i>Qu</i>
some] others 12b-24	
Foundations] foundation 12b-24	

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly
 Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance,
 Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, 55
 except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and
 warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not
 much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as *Virgil*
 saith) *It never troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.*
 The Armie of the *Persians*, in the Plaines of *Arbela*, was 60
 such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the
 Commanders in *Alexanders* Armie; Who came to him
 therefore, and wisht him, to set upon them by Night; But hee
 answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat
 was Easie. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped 65
 upon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discovered the | Armie of the [Z2]
Romans, being not above 14000. Marching towards him, he
 made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too*
Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight. But before
 the Sunne sett, he found them enow, to give him the Chace, 70
 with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great
 oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may
 truly make a Judgement; That the Principal Point of *Greatnesse*
 in any *State*, is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is
 Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is trivially said) where the 75
 Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are
 failing. For *Solon* said well to *Cræsus* (when in Ostentation he
 shewed him his Gold) *Sir, if any Other come, that hath better*
Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold. Therefore let
 any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his 80
Militia of Natives, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let
 Princes, on the other side, that have Subjects of Martiall

70 enow] 25(u); enough 25(c)

53-4 Goodly . . . Chariots] goodly charriots <i>Qu</i>	54 Races . . . Warre]
Stables 12b-24	Elephants,] Elephants, (if you wil) Masse of treasure,
Number in [of 12c] Armies, 12b-24	Ordnance,] Ordnance, and 12b, 13a-24;
ordinance of <i>Pu</i>	55 and the like] not in 12b-24
all 12b-24	56-7 stout and warlike] militarie 12b-24
. . . Themselves.] not in 12b-24	59 never troubles a] troubleth not the
<i>Pu</i>	63 by Night] in the night time <i>Pu</i>
that <i>Pu</i> , <i>Qu</i>	64 answered] answered
66 upon] on <i>Pu</i>	70 enow] enough <i>Pu</i> , <i>Qu</i>
74 Race] brave race <i>Pu</i> , <i>Qu</i>	75 it is] is <i>Pu</i>
78 any Other] another <i>Pu</i> , <i>Qu</i>	76 and] or <i>Pu</i> , <i>Qu</i>
	80 soberly] very soberly <i>Pu</i> , <i>Qu</i>

[22^v] disposition, know their owne Strength; | unlesse they be otherwise wanting unto Themselves. As for *Mercenary*
 85 *Forces*, (which is the Helpe in this Case) all Examples shew; That whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them; *Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after.*

The *Blessing* of *Judah* and *Issachar* will never meet; *That*
 90 *the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse betweene Burthens*: Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, should ever become Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate Mens Courage lesse; As it hath beene seene
 95 notably, in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries*; And in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England*. For you must note, that we speake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it workes diversly upon
 100 the Courage. So that you may conclude; *That no People, over-*
 [23] *charged | with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aime at *Greatnesse*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen*, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject, grow to be a Peasant, and Base
 105 Swaine, driven out of Heart, and in effect but the *Gentlemans* Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have cleane Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes*. So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base; And
 110 you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the *Infantry*, which is

84 unto] to *Qu* 84-7 As . . . *Hee*] The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that resteth upon waged Companies of forraine Armes, and not of his owne Natives, 12b-24 89 *Blessing*] blessings *Pu*, *Qu*
 89-90 *That . . . should*] to 12b-24 90 *whelpe*] whelpes 24
 91 *Asse*] *Asse* laid 12b-24 will . . . that] will 12b-24 92-101 over-laid . . . *is*] overcharged with tributes, bee ever 12b-24 92-3 should . . .
Taxes] not in *Pu* 94 doe abate] doth abate *Pu*; abate *Qu* 98 although] though *Qu* 102-3 Let . . . fast.] Nobilitie and Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion, 12b-24 103-4 For that maketh] maketh 12b-24 104 maketh] makes *Pu*, *Qu* 105 and in effect] and 12b-24 106 Even . . . Woods;] like as it is in copices, where 12b-24
 108-12 So . . . Army:] And take away the middle people, and you take away the infantry, which is the nerve of an Armie: and you bring it to this, that not the hundreth [hnn dreth 12b] pole will be fit for a helmet, 12b-24

the Nerve of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of *England* and *France*; whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neverthesse) an Overmatch; In regard, the *Middle People* of *England*, make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* doe not. And here-[in, the device of King *Henry* the Seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound, and Admirable; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject, to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attaine to *Virgils* Character, which he gives to Ancient *Italy*.

—*Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebæ.*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I meane the State of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*; which are no waies inferiour, unto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, | received into Custome, doth much conduce, unto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserved living, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the *Trunck* of

112 there will be] *not in 12b-24* 113-40 This, . . . *Forces.*] Certainly *Virgil* coupled Armes and the Plough together well in the constitution of ancient *Italy*; *Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ*: For it is the Plough that yeeldeth the best souldier; but how? maintained in plentie and in the hand of owners, and not of meere laborers. 12b-24 116 (neverthesse)] never the lesse *Qu*; *not in Pu* an Overmatch] the over-match *Pu* 117 of] in *Qu* 119 spoken largely] largely spoken *Pu* 122 such a] such *Qu* 125 the Owners] owners *Pu*, *Qu* 133 no waies] nothing *Qu* 139 *Gentleman*] *Gent Qu* 141-79 By . . . appeareth.] expanded from passage near end of essay in 12b-24: States liberall of naturalization, are capable of greatnesse; and the jealous states that rest upon the first [om. 13b, 13c, 24] tribe and stirpe, quickly want body to carrie the boughes and branches. 12b-24

Nebuchadnezzars Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subjects* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient
 145 Proportion, to the *Stranger Subjects*, that they governe. Therefore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the
 150 World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile suddainly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their
 [24^v] Stem, they became a Windfall upon the | suddaine. Never any
 155 State was, in this Point, so open to receive *Strangers*, into their Body, as were the *Romans*. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is,
 160 Not onely *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hæreditatis*; But also, *Jus Suffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation* of *Colonies*; whereby the Roman
 165 Plant, was removed into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spred upon the *World*; But it was the *World*, that spred upon the *Romans*: And that was the sure Way of *Greatnesse*. I have marveiled sometimes at *Spaine*,
 170 how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, with so few *Naturall Spaniards*: But sure, the whole Compasse |
 [2A1] of *Spaine*, is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre above *Rome*, and *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they have that,
 175 which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this

147 for *Empire*] for greatnes of empire *Pu, Qu*
 greatnes of *Pu*

on *Qu* 170 claspe] can claspe *Pu, Qu*
Nations] all nations almost indifferently *Pu*

148 the greatest]

154 upon]

175-6 almost . . .

instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary*, and *Within-doore Arts*, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And love Danger better then Travaile: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore, it was great Advantage, in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manu-|factures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natives, within those three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground; *Free Servants*; and *Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, and Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatnesse*, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes: And what is *Habilitation* without *Intention* and *Act*? *Romulus*, after his death (as they report, or faine) sent a Present to the *Romans*; That, above all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta*, was wholly (though not wisely) fra-|med, and composed, to that Scope and End. The *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, had it for a flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others,

178 the] there <i>Pu</i>	180 It . . . that] <i>not in 12b-24</i>	<i>Within-doore]</i>
within-doores <i>12b, 12c</i>	181 delicate] nice <i>12b-24</i>	require] requireth
<i>Pu</i>	182 Arme] hand or arme <i>12b-24</i>	182-3 Military
disposition] disposition militar [military <i>12c</i>] <i>12b-24</i>		184 Travaile] pain
<i>12b-24</i>	186-254 Therefore, . . . Arming.] <i>not in 12b-24</i>	189-90 That
which] which <i>Pu</i>	193 within] which <i>Pi</i>	194-5 and Manly
Arts] and and manly <i>Pu</i>	197 importeth] importes <i>Pu, Qu</i>	
200 formerly have] have formerly <i>Qu</i>	are but] but <i>Pu</i>	<i>Habilitations]</i>
habilitation <i>Pu</i>	203 Present] precept <i>Pu, Qu</i>	204-5 of the
World] in the world <i>Qu</i>	207 The <i>Persians</i> , . . . flash.] <i>after Time</i>	
(line 209) <i>Qu</i>		

had it for a Time. The *Turks* have it, at this day, though in
 210 great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are,
 in effect, onely the *Spaniards*. But it is so plaine, *That every*
Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth, that it needeth not
 to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation,
 which doth not directly professe Armes, may looke to
 215 have *Greatnesse* fall into their Mouths. And, on the other
 side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States,
 that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and
Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those, that
 have professed Armes but for an Age, have notwithstanding,
 220 commonly, attained that *Greatnesse* in that Age, which
 maintained them long after, when their Profession and
 Exercise of Armes hath grown to decay.

[2A2^v] Incident to this Point is; For a State, to | have those Lawes
 or Customes, which may reach forth unto them, just Occasions
 225 (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Justice
 imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon
 Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but upon
 some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The
Turke, hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of
 230 his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command.
 The *Romans*, though they esteemed, the Extending the
 Limits of their Empire, to be great Honour to their Generalls,
 when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone, to
 begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to
 235 *Greatnesse*, have this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either
 upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that
 they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them
 be prest, and ready, to give Aids and Succours, to their
 Confederates: As it ever was with the *Romans*: In so much,
 [2A3] as if the Confederate, had | Leagues Defensive with divers
 241 other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their
 Aides severally, yet the *Romans* would ever bee the formost,
 and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the

210-11 are, in effect, onely]	in effect only are <i>Pu, Qu</i>	212 <i>profiteth</i>]	
profiteth <i>Pu</i>	needeth] <i>needes Pu, Qu</i>	213 to be]	<i>be Pu</i>
214 which] that <i>Qu</i>	216 it] that it <i>Pu, Qu</i>	227 whereof . . .	
ensue] <i>not in Pu</i>	whereof] whereon <i>Qu</i>	236 Borderers]	<i>borders</i>
<i>Pu, Qu</i>	Politique] <i>publique Pu, Qu</i>	238 Aides]	<i>ayde Qu</i>
that <i>Qu</i>	Confederate] <i>confederates Pu</i>	Leagues]	<i>league Pu</i>
		240 as]	

Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well justified: As when the *Romans* made a Warre for the Libertie of *Grecia*: Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Warres, to set up or pull downe *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies*: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, under the pretence of Justice, or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or | Estate, a Just and Honourable Warre, is the true *Exercise*. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for *Greatnesse*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giveth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in *Spaine*; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* against *Cæsar*, saith; *Consilium Pompeii planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari poti-tur, eum Rerum potiri*. And, without doubt, *Pompey* had tired out *Cæsar*, if upon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects

247 a Warre] warr <i>Pu</i>	248 Warres] warr <i>Pu, Qu</i>	248-9 set
... downe] pull downe or sett up <i>Pu</i>	250 the pretence] pretence <i>Pu, Qu</i>	
256 certainly, to] to the politike body of 12b-24	257 Estate, ...	
<i>Exercise</i> .] estate, 12b-24	258 indeed, is like] is as 12b-24	
259 a Forraine] the Forraine <i>Qu</i> ; an honourable forraine 12b-24	259-60 and	
... in] At least, discoveries, navigations, honourable succours of other States may keepe 12b-24	261 will] will be <i>Qu</i>	261-318 But ... Generall.]
Many are the ingredients into the receit for greatnesse. 12b-24	265 that,	
which commonly] commonly y ^t w ^{ch} <i>Qu</i>	267 hath had] hath hath <i>Pu</i>	
270 a Monarchy] <i>Monarchie Pu</i>	271 <i>Preparation</i>] preparations <i>Pu, Qu</i>	

of Battailes by *Sea*. The Battaile of *Actium* decided the
 Empire of the World. The Battaile of *Lepanto* arrested the
 Greatnesse of the *Turke*. There be many Examples, where
Sea-Fights have beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when
 280 Princes or States, have set up their Rest, upon the Battailes.
 But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the *Sea*,
 is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the
 Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land,
 are many times neverthesse in great Straights. Surely, at this
 285 Day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea*
 (which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of
Great Brittain) is Great: Both because, Most of the Kingdomes
 of *Europe*, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the *Sea*,
 most part of their Compasse; And because, the Wealth of
 [2A4^v] both *Indies*, seemes in great | Part, but an Accessary, to the
 291 Command of the *Seas*.

The *Warres* of *Latter Ages*, seeme to be made in the Darke,
 in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected upon
 Men, from the *Warres* in *Ancient Time*. There be now, for
 295 Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry;
 which neverthesse, are conferred promiscuously, upon
 Soldiers, and no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps
 upon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers;
 And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The *Trophies*
 300 erected upon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatives
 and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns
 and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the
 Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of
 the Generalls upon their Returne; The great Donatives and
 305 Largesses upon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things
 able to enflame all Mens Courages. But above all, That of
 [2B1] the Triumph, amongst | the *Romans*, was not Pageants or

278 <i>Turke</i>] <i>Turkes Pu</i>	280 Rest] <i>restes Pu</i>	the] <i>these Pu</i> ; those
<i>Qu</i>	281 That hee that] <i>he that Qu</i>	the <i>Sea</i>] <i>the Pu</i>
or <i>Qu</i>	283 be] <i>are Qu</i>	282 and]
287 Both] <i>but Pu</i>	Most] <i>most part Qu</i>	286 Dowries] <i>dower Pu</i>
meerely <i>Pu</i>	291 <i>Seas</i>] <i>sea Pu, Qu</i>	288 meerely Inland] <i>in land</i>
298 upon] <i>of Pu, Qu</i>	299 Times] <i>time Pu, Qu</i>	293 reflected] <i>reflecteth Pu</i>
laudative <i>Pu</i>	302 Garlands Personal] <i>garlands Qu</i>	300 Laudatives]
303 after] <i>afterwards Pu, Qu</i>	304 upon] <i>after Qu</i>	of] <i>of the Pu</i>
<i>Triumphes Pu</i>		307 Triumph]

Gauderie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions, that ever was. For it contained three Things; Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies*; Except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himselfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actuell Triumphs to Themselves, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieve in Person: And left onely, for Wars atchieved by Subjects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *adde a Cubite to his Stature* in this little Modell of a *Mans Body*: But in the Great Frame of *Kingdomes*, and *Common Wealths*, it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and *Greatnesse* to their *Kingdomes*. For by introducing such Ordinances, | Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatnesse*, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance. |

311 perhaps] <i>not in Pu</i>	313 Sonnes] <i>sonne Pu, Qu</i>	316-17 for
Wars atchieved by Subjects] <i>not in Pu</i>	316 Wars] <i>warr Qu</i>	318 Generall]
Generalls <i>Pu, Qu</i>	319 To conclude;] <i>not in 12b-24</i>	319-20 (as
. . . saith)] <i>not in 12b-24</i>	320 this] <i>the 12b-24</i>	321 But] But
certainly <i>12b-24</i>	the Great] <i>so greate Pu</i>	322-5 to
. . . may] by ordinances and constitutions, and maners which they may introduce, to <i>12b-24</i>	Frame] <i>frames Qu</i>	
327 not . . . Chance.] left to chance. <i>12b-24</i>		

<i>Emendation of Accidentals.</i>	53 Arcenalls] <i>25(c); ~, 25(u)</i>	57 warlike]
war-like 25	100-1 Over-charged] <i>~~ 25</i>	134 <i>Yeomanry,</i>]
25(c); ~, 25(u)	142 enough,] <i>25(c); ~, 25(u)</i>	277 World.]
25(c); ~.: 25(u)	280 Battailles.] <i>25(c); ~ [turned point] 25(u)</i>	
300 The Funerall] <i>TheFunerall 25</i>	320 <i>Stature]</i> <i>~, 25</i>	

[2B2]

Of Regiment
of Health.
XXX.

There is a wisdom in this, beyond the Rules of *Physicke*:
 5 A Mans owne Observation, what he findes Good of, and what
 he findes Hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preserve Health. But it
 is a safer Conclusion to say; *This agreeth not well with me,*
therefore I will not continue it; Then this; *I finde no offence*
of this, therefore I may use it. For Strength of Nature in
 10 youth, passeth over many Excesses, which are owing a Man
 till his Age. Discerne of the coming on of Yeares, and
 thinke not, to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be
 Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet,
 [2B2^v] and if necessity | inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret,
 15 both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many
 Things, then one. Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe,
 Exercise, Apparell, and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou
 shalt judge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But
 so, as if thou doest finde any Inconvenience by the Change,
 20 thou come backe to it againe: For it is hard to distinguish,
 that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that,
 which is good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body. To
 be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat,
 and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of
 25 Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde;

1-2 Of Regiment of Health.] *essay not in H67* 3 XXX.] 7. C, L, H62,
 T, 97a-H51, 12c; 17. 12b, 13a-24 5 A] w^{ch} is a L Observation] Observations
 24 and what] and wherof L 6 Hurt of] hurt L is] w^{ch} assuredly
 is L 7-8 agreeth not . . . will not] agreeth Σ, 97a 8 I] I | I 12b
 Then . . . finde] I finde C 10 many Excesses] many imperfections L;
 manie T; manie thinges H62 (thinges *interlined in lighter ink*) 11 coming
 on] comminge H62, L, T and] and therefore L 12 to] then to L
 Things] thinge T still;] still. Certainly most lusty old men catch their death by
 that adventure; 12b-24 12-13 For . . . Deified.] *not in Σ, 97a-H51*
 13 Defied] edified 13c, 24 sudden] any suddain Σ, 97a-12b (manie H62)
 point] sweat H62 14 inforce] force H62, L, T fit] fill L, T; fell H62
 (*deleted and apply inserted in lighter ink*) 14-16 For . . . one.] *not in Σ,*
 97a-H51 16-22 Examine . . . Body] *not in Σ, 97a-24* 24 of
 Sleep] sleepe H62, L one . . . Precepts] the best precept C, L, T, 97a-24; the
 best pretexte H62 25-32 As . . . Nature.] *not in Σ, 97a-24*

Avoid Envie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill and knottie Inquisitions; Joyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Joy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Stu-^[2B3] dies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Objects, as ³¹ Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect, when Sicknesse commeth. ³⁵ I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Seasons, then frequent Use of *Physicke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. In *Sicknesse*, respect *Health* principally; And in *Health*, ⁴⁰ *Action*. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and ⁴⁵ Lasting; That a Man doe vary, and enterchange Contraries; But with an Inclination to | the more benigne Extreme: Use ^[2B3v] Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet ⁵⁰ taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humor of the Patient, as they presse not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. ⁵⁵

26 Anger] 25(c); Anger; 25(u)

33 strange for] strange to H62, L, 97a-12a, 12c; strong for C 34 If]
 And yf L 35 commeth] comes T 36-8 I . . . lesse.] not in Σ,
 97a-24 39 Accident, . . . Body] accident H62 your] thie H51; the
 Σ, 97a-12a, 12c 40 respect *Health* principally] principally respect
 healtbe C 41 *Action*] actions H62 42 *Sicknesses*] sicknes C,
 H62, L be] may be L 43 Tendering] tending L, T; good tending C
 43-51 *Celsus* . . . Masteries.] not in Σ, 97a-H51 47 benigne] being 12b (ink
 corr. to lemma in 10 of 15 copies) 51-2 pleasing, and conformable] pleasing
 C; pleasaunt and comfortable T; pleasing, and comfortable H62, L, 98-12a, 12c
 52 Humor] humours Σ, 97a-24 as] that C 53 other are] others C

Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, aswell the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty. |

56 Middle Temper] milde temper C; mylde tonge L	56-7 Or . . .
sort:] <i>not in C</i>	57 combine] compound Σ, 97a-24
sorts Σ, 97a-24	58 aswell] <i>not in H62</i> as] or H51
facillitye L	59 Faculty]

Emendation of Accidentals. 11 Yeares] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Yeeres 25(u) 45 it,] 25(c); ~ ^ 25(u) 46 Contraries;] 25(c); ~: 25(u)

[2B4]

Of Suspicion. XXXI.

Suspitions amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leese Friends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry the Seventh of England*: There was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether |

[2B4^v] they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspitions* in Smother. What would Men have? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will have their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselves, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspitions*, then to account upon such *Suspitions* as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For

so farre, a Man ought to make use of *Suspensions*, as to provide, 25
 as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may doe him
 no Hurt. *Suspensions*, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are
 but Buzzes; But *Suspensions*, that are artificially nourished,
 and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whisprings of
 others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the 30
 Way, in this same Wood of *Suspensions*, is franckly to com-
 municate them, with the Partie, that he *Suspects*: For thereby, [2C1]
 he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then
 he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more
 circumspect, not to give further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this 35
 would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they
 finde themselves once suspected, will never be true. The
Italian saies: *Sospetto licentia fede*: As if *Suspicion* did give
 a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge
 it selfe. | 40

Emendation of Accidentals. 12 Stout.] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~: 25(u)

Of Discourse. XXXII.

[2C1^v]

Some in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit,
 in being able to hold all Arguments, then of Judgment, in
 discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know what 5
 might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have
 certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are
 good, and want Variety: Which kinde of Poverty is for the
 most part Tedious, and when it is once perceived, Ridiculous.
 The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to give the Occasion; And 10
 againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then

9 perceived,] perceived 25

1 Of Discourse.] *Discourses T*; essay not in H67 2 XXXII.] 2. C, H62,
 L, T, 97a-12a, 12c; 12. H51; 19. 12b, 13a-24 3 their] om. H62, L, T
 Commendation] commendacions H62 4 Arguments, . . . Judgment]
 Arguments 13c, 24 5 Praise] *interlined in H62* 6 might] mought
 H62 9 when . . . perceived] nowe and then Σ, 97a-24 10 Part]
 kind 12b (H51)-24 give the] give H62; guide the 97a 11-12 For . . .
 Daunce.] not in Σ, 97a-24

a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the
 [2C2] present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Rea-|sons;
 15 Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we say now, to Jade, any Thing too farre. As for Jest, there be certaine Things, which ought to be priuiledged from it; Namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Mans present
 20 Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserveth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits have been asleepe; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled;

Parce Puer stimulis, et fortiùs utere Loris.

25 And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltnesse and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if he apply
 30 his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: |
 [2C2^v] For he shall give them occasion, to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leave other Men their Turnes
 35 to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take up all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians use to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your

12-13 in . . . Conversation] *not in* Σ , 97a-24 13 entermingle] mixe
 Σ , 97a-24 of] to 13c, 24 (*cw* of) 14 present] private H62
 with Arguments] with argument *L*, 97a-12a, 12b-24; with of Argument H51
 16-17 For . . . farre.] *not in* Σ , 97a-24 17-18 As . . . it;] But some
 things are priuiledged from jest, Σ , 97a-24 (the jeaste H62) 19 Any
 Mans] all mens *C* present] pryuate H62 20 And] or *L* Pitty.]
 much pity (much *deleted*) *L* 21-4 Yet . . . *Loris*.] *not in* Σ , 97a-24
 25-8 And . . . Memory.] *not in* Σ , 97a-H51 29 learne . . . much] learne
 much H62, *L*, *T* But especially] specialle H62, *T*, 97a-13b, 14; especially *C*,
L; so specially 13c, 24 30 Questions] question 12c Persons, whom]
 person of whom H62, *L*, *T*, 97a-H51; party of whom *C*; persons of whom 12b-24
 31 them occasion] thoccasion *T* 32 continually] still *L* 33-8 But
 . . . Galliards.] *not in* Σ , 97a-24 38 you] sometimes you *C* dissemble
 sometimes] do sometymes dissemble *L*; dissemble *C*

knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be
 thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speach 40
 of a Mans Selfe ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew
 One, was wont to say, in Scorne; *He must needs be a Wise*
Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe: And there is but one
 Case, wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with good
 Grace; And that is in commending Vertue in Another; 45
 Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe
 pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards Others, should be spa-
 ringly used: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without [2C3]
 comming home to any Man. I knew two *Noble-men*, of the
 West Part of *England*; Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, 50
 but kept ever Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would
 aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; *Tell truely,*
was there never a Flout or drie Blow given; To which the
 Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed:* The
 Lord would say; *I thought he would marre a good Dinner.* 55
Discretion of *Speech*, is more then *Eloquence*; And to speak
 agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is more then to
 speake in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued
 Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews
 Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without 60
 a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse.
 As we see in Beasts, that those that are Weakest in the Course,
 are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-
 hound, and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances, ere
 one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To use none at all, is 65
 Blunt. |

41-3 ought . . . *Himselfe:*] is not good often Σ, 97a-24 44 Case]
 thing C 44-5 good Grace] a grace H62 45 in commending]
 commending C 46 whereunto] as whereunto Σ, 97a-24
 47-9 Speech . . . Man.] not in Σ, 97a-H51 47 towards] toward 12b
 49-55 I . . . *Dinner.*] not in Σ, 97a-24 57 agreeably] agreeable H62, T
 59, 60 without] wth T 59-60 shews Slownesse] sheweth slownesse Σ,
 97a-24 (shallownesse H62) 60-3 And . . . Turne:] not in H62
 60 Good . . . Speech] good second speache C, L, T 61 Setled] set C, L, T,
 97a-12a, 12c (ink corr. to lemma in Trinity-Malone copy of 97b) 61-3 and
 . . . Turne] not in C, L, T 63-4 As . . . Hare.] not in Σ, 97a-24
 65 one] a man L the] his L Wearisome;] wearisome, and C, L all,]
 all, Σ, 97a-H51

Emendation of Accidentals. 6 Thought.] 25 (third-state corr.); ~^ 25(u)
 12 Discourse,] 25 (first-state corr.); ~; 25(u) 63-4 Grey-hound] ~-~ 25

[2C3^v]

Of Plantations.

XXXIII.

Plantations are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children;
 5 But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new *Plantations*, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries,
 10 is like *Planting* of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most *Plantations*, hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Spee-
 [2C4] die Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with
 16 the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: And not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation*; For
 20 they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie over to their Country, to the Discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters,
 25 Joyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chest-nuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like:
 30 and make use of them. Then consider, what Victuall or
 [2C4^v] Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, | and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease,
 35 and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse

Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take 40 chiefly such, as are least Subject to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doves, and the like. The Victuall in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground 45 employed to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in, and Stored up, and then Delivered out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground, | that any [2D1] Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Private. Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* 50 is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice, of the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with *Tabacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there 55 be Iron Ure, and Streames whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a brave Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke likewise, if any be, is a likely Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines 60 are, will not faile. So Drugs, and, Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile not too much under Ground: For the Hope of Mines is very Uncertaine, and useth to make the *Plan-lters* Lazie, in other Things. For [2D1v] Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some 66 Counsell: And let them have Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And above all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they have God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes. Let not the 70 Government of the *Plantation*, depend upon too many Counsellours, and Undertakers, in the Countrie that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate Number: And let those be, rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke ever to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from 75

Custome, till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only
 Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to carrie their
 Commodities, where they may make their Best of them,
 except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme not
 80 in People, by sending too fast, Company, after Company;
 But rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies
 [2D2] proportionably; But so, as the Number may live | well, in the
Plantation, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene
 a great Endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that
 85 they have built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and
 unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there,
 to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build
 still, rather upwards, from the Streames, then along. It
 concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they
 90 have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it, in
 their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant*, where
 Savages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and
 Gingles; But use them justly, and graciously, with sufficient
 Guard neverthesse: And doe not winne their favour, by
 95 helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence
 it is not amisse. And send oft of them, over to the Country,
 that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition then their
 owne, and commend it when they returne. When the *Plantation*
 [2D2^v] grows to Strength, then it is time, to *Plant* | with Women, as
 100 well as with Men; That the *Plantation* may spread into
 Generations, and not be ever peeced from without. It is
 the sinfulllest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute
 a *Plantation*, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dis-
 honour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable
 105 Persons. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 19 *Plantation*;] *Plan*-|*tation*; 25 (*second-state*
corr.); ~, 25(u) 28 Chest-nuts] Chest-|nuts 25 54 *Tabacco*] 25(u); *Tobacco* 25(c) 56 Milles;] 25(c); ~: 25(u) 58 it,]
 25(c); ~; 25(u) 61 and,] 25(c); ~^ 25(u) 70 Service,] 25(c);
 ~^ 25(u) 73 Number:] 25(c); ~; 25(u) 96 amisse.] 25(c);
 ~: 25(u)

Of Riches.
XXXIII.

[2D3]

I cannot call *Riches* better, then the Baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left 5 behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches*, there is no Reall Use, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith *Salomon*; *Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the* 10 *Sight of it, with his Eyes?* The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great *Riches*: There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donative of them; Or a | Fame [2D3^v] of them; But no Solid Use to the Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are set upon little Stones, and Rarities? 15 And what Works of Ostentation, are undertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Use of great *Riches*? But then you will say, they may be of use, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man*. But this is excellently 20 expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwaies in *Fact*. For certainly Great *Riches*, have sold more Men, then they have bought out. Seeke not Proud *Riches*, but such as thou maist get justly, Use soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and Leave contentedly. Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt 25 of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Avaritiæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, quæri*. Hearken also to *Salomon*, and beware of Hasty Gathering of *Riches*: *Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons*. The Poets faigne 30

1 Of Riches.] essay not in 97a-12a 2 XXXIII.] 13. H51; 21. 12b,
13a-24; 18. 12c 7 loseth] leeseth H51; looseth 12c 9 So]
ô 13c; O 24 Salomon] Solomon H51 11 Fruition in] good of H51
12 Great Riches] them H51 13 them] great Riches H51 Donative of
them] Donative H51 15 Prices] prizes 12b; prizes 13a-24 17 might]
mought H51 17-18 But . . . say] But then 12b (H51)-24 19 a]
interlined by Hand A in H51 25 Leave] live 14 28-96 Hearken
. . . Service.] not in 12b (H51)-24

[2D4] that | when *Plutus*, (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot: Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by Good Meanes, and Just Labour, pace slowly; But when they
 35 come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devill. For when *Riches* come from the Devill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust Meanes,) they come upon
 40 Speed. The *Waies to enrich* are many, and most of them Foule. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The *Improvement of the Ground*, is the most
 45 Naturall Obtaining of *Riches*; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches*
 [2D4^v] exceedingly. I knew a | Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great
 50 Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly observed by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little *Riches*, and very easily to Great
 55 *Riches*. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The *Gaines of Ordinary Trades* and
 60 *Vocations*, are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the *Gaines of Bargaines*, are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite upon Others Necessity, |
 [2E1] broake by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off
 65 Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargaines*, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell over againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both upon the Seller, and upon the Buyer. *Sharings*, doe greatly *Enrich*, if
 70 the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. *Usury* is the

certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; *In sudore vultûs alieni*: And besides, doth Plough upon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriveners and Broakers, doe valew unsound Men, to serve their owne Turne. 75 The *Fortune*, in being the First in an *Invention*, or in a *Priviledge*, doth cause sometimes a wonderfull Overgrowth in *Riches*; As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries*: Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well | Judgement, as *Invention*, he may do great Matters; [2E1^v] especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gaines* 81 *Certaine*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*: And he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth often times breake, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties*, that may uphold losses. *Monopolies*, and 85 *Coemption of Wares for Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie have intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by 90 Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*; *Testamenta et Orbos, tamquàm Indagine capi*;) It is yet worse; By how much Men submit themselves, to Meaner 95 Persons, then in *Service*. Beleeve not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches*: For they despise them, that despaire | of [2E2] them; And none Worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in 100 more. Men leave their *Riches*, either to their Kindred; Or to the Publique: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yeares and Judgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts 105 and Foundations, are like *Sacrifices without Salt*; And but the *Painted Sepulchres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie,

96 Beleeve . . . them,] Neither trust thou much others, 12b (H51)-24
 97 *Riches*] them 12b (H51)-24 106 are . . . And] not in 12b (H51)-
 24

and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure; And Deferre
 110 not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne. |

108 corrupt inwardly] corrupt *H51* thine] thy 12*b* (*H51*)-24 111 weigh]
 weight *H51*

Emendation of Accidentals. 7 Victory.] ~: 25 25 Leave] 25(c);
 leave 25(*u*) 33 Foot:] ~. 25 50 Lead-Man] Lead-Man 25(c);
 ~^ | ~ 25(*u*) 61 By] 25(c); by 25(*u*)

[2E2^v]

Of Prophecies. XXXV.

I meane not to speake of *Divine Prophecies*; Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of *Prophecies*,
 5 that have beene of certaine Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*; *To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me.* *Homer* hath these Verses.

*At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
 Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:*

10 A *Prophecie*, as it seemes, of the *Roman Empire*. *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these Verses.

—*Venient Annis*

*Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
 Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens
 Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos |
 Detegat Orbis; nec sit Terris
 Ultima Thule:*

15
 [2E3]

A *Prophecie* of the Discovery of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and
 20 *Apollo* annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon*

dreamed, He sealed up his Wives Belly: Whereby he did
 expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the
 Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men 25
 doe not use to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme,
 that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis*
iterum me videbis. *Tiberius* said to *Galba*; *Tu quoque*
Galba degustabis Imperium. In *Vespasians* Time, there went
 a *Prophecie* in the East; That those that should come forth of 30
Judea, should reigne over the World: which though it may
 be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of
Vespasian. *Domitian* dreamed, the Night before he | was [2E3V]
 slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of
 his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for 35
 many yeares, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixt of *England*,
 said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him
 Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enjoy the Crowne, for which*
we strive. When I was in *France*, I heard from one *Dr. Pena*,
 that the *Q. Mother*, who was given to Curious Arts, caused 40
 the *King* her Husbands Nativitie, to be Calculated, under
 a false Name; And the Astrologer gave a Judgement, that he
 should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed,
 thinking her Husband, to be above Challenges and Duels: but
 he was slaine, upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the 45
 Staffe of *Mongomery*, going in at his Bever. The triviall
Prophecie, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and *Queene*
Elizabeth was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

*When Hempe is sponne;
 England's done.*

50

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that | after the *Princes* [2E4]
 had Reigned, which had the Principiall *Letters*, of that Word
Hempe, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and
Elizabeth) *England* should come to utter Confusion: Which,
 thanks be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the 55
 Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of *England*,
 but of *Britaine*. There was also another *Prophecie*, before the
 yeare of 88. which I doe not well understand.

*There shall be seene upon a day,
 Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
 The Blacke Fleet of Norway.*

60

*When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you have None.*

- 65 It was generally conceived, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88.; For that the *King of Spaines* Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*;

Octogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus;

- Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that
[2E4v] great Fleet, being the | greatest in Strength, though not in
71 Number, of all that ever swamme upon the Sea. As for
Cleons Dreame, I thinke it was a Jest. It was, that he was
devoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker
of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers
75 of the like kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and
Predictions of *Astrologie*. But I have set downe these few
onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Judgement is,
that they ought all to be *Despised*; And ought to serve,
but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say
80 *Despised*, I meane it as for Beleefe: For otherwise, the
Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no sort to be *Despised*.
For they have done much Mischiefe: And I see many severe
Lawes made to suppress them. That, that hath given them
Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First,
85 that Men marke, when they hit, and never marke, when they
misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second
[2F1] is, that Probable | Conjectures, or obscure Traditions, many
times, turne themselves into *Prophecies*: While the Nature of
Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell
90 that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's*
Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that
the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke;
which mought be Probably conceived, not to be all Sea:
And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and
95 his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage One, to turne it to
a *Prediction*. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is,
that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have beene
Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contrived
and faigned, after the Event Past. |

Of Ambition.
XXXVI.

[2F1^v]

Ambition is like *Choler*; Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his Way, it becommeth Adust, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they finde the way Open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke upon Men and matters, with an Evill Eye; And are best pleased, when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Propertie, in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and | not Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*: For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of *Ambitious Men*, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subject that over-tops: As *Tiberius* used *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used, in such Cases, there resteth to speake, | how they are to be bridleed, that they may be lesse dangerous. There is lesse danger of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then

1 Of Ambition.] essay not in 97a-12a

13a-24; 19. 12c

6 Adust] a dust 12b

9 check't] checked 12b (H51)-24

12b (H51)-24

2 XXXVI.] 9. H51; 22. 12b,

7 for] of H51

12 Propertie,] propertie that can be

18-54 But . . . Wood.] not in 12b (H51)-24

if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then
 35 Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised,
 then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is
 counted by some, a weaknesse in Princes, to have *Favorites*:
 But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious*
Great-Ones. For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring,
 40 lieth by the *Favourite*, it is Impossible, Any Other should be
Over-great. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance
 them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be
 some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady: For
 without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the
 45 least, a Prince may animate and inure some Meaner Persons,
 to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the
 having of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull
 [2F3] Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, | and Daring,
 it may precipitate their Designes, and prove dangerous. As
 50 for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and
 that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way
 is, the Enterchange continually of Favours, and Disgraces;
 whereby they may not know, what to expect; And be, as it
 were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is lesse harmefull, the
 55 *Ambition* to prevaile in great Things, then that other, to
 appeare in every thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres
 Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger, to have an *Ambitious*
 Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances.
 He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men, hath
 60 a great Taske; but that is ever good for the Publique. But he
 that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the
 decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The
 Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and
 principall Persons: And the Raising of a Mans owne Fortunes.
 [2F3^v] He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspi-|reth,
 66 is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of
 these Intentions, in Another that aspi-|reth, is a wise Prince.
 Generally, let Princes and States, choose such Ministers,
 as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising; And such as
 70 love Businesse rather upon Conscience, then upon Bravery:

54 lesse] the lesse 12b (H51)-24
 not in 12b (H51)-24
 Fortune H51

61 plots] plotteth H51

57-8 But . . . Dependances.]
 64 Fortunes]

And let them Discerne a Busie Nature, from a Willing Minde. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 8 forward, they] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~,~ 25(u) 11 pleased,] plea-|sed, 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~; 25(u)

Of Masques and
Triumphs.
XXXVII.

[2F4]

These Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious
Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it 5
is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed
with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State, and
Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed
aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musicke: And the
Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in 10
Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say *Acting*, not
Dancing, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the
Voices of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base,
and a Tenour; No Treb-|ble;) And the *Ditty* High and Tragicall; [2F4^v]
Not nice or Dainty. *Severall Quires*, placed one over against 15
another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Antheme* wise,
give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*, is a childish
Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things,
which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the
Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It is true, the 20
Alterations of Scenes, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are
Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and
relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the
Scenes abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied*:
And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down 25
from the *Scene*, have some Motions, upon the *Scene* it selfe,
before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely,
and makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it
cannot perfectly discerne. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and
Cheerefull, and not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* 30

[2G1] likewise, be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well Placed*. | The *Colours*,
 that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and
 a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are
 of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich*
 35 *Embroidery*, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the *Sutes* of
 the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person,
 when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne
 Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-*
masques not be long; They have been commonly of Fooles,
 40 Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites,
 Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rusticks,
 Cupids, Statua's Moving, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not
 Comickall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques*; And any
 Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side
 45 as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreative,
 and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly
 comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such
 a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great |
 [2G1^v] Pleasure; and Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men,
 50 another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is
 Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For *Justs*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers*; The Glories of
 them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers
 make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange
 55 Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the
 Devices of their Entrance; Or in the Bravery of their Liveries;
 Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour.
 But enough of these Toyes. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 32 Candlelight] Candle-light 25
 38-9 *Anti-masques*] *Antimasques* 25

[2G2]

Of Nature in
 Men.
 XXXVIII.

Nature is Often Hidden; Sometimes Overcome; Seldome

1-2 Of Nature in Men] Of Nature. H51; Hand B (*Bacon*) adds in men; essay
 not in 97a-12a 3 XXXVIII.] 30. H51; 26. 12b, 13a-24; 23. 12c

Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the 5
 Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* lesse Im-
 portune: But Custome onely doth alter and subdue *Nature*.
 Hee that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set
 Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will 10
 make him dejected by often Faylings; And the Second will
 make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings.
 And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers
 doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him
 practise with disadvantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes.
 For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then 15
 the use. | Where *Nature* is Mighty, and therefore the Victory [2G2^v]
 hard, the Degrees had need be; First to Stay and Arrest
Nature in Time; Like to Him, that would say over the Foure
 and Twenty Letters, when he was Angry: Then to Goe lesse
 in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from 20
 Drinking Healths, to a Draught at a Meale: And lastly, to
 Discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude, and
 Resolution, to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

*Optimus ille Animi Vindex, lædencia pectus
 Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.*

25

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend *Nature* as a Wand,
 to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: Understanding
 it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man
 force a Habit upon himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance,
 but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth 30
 the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be | ever in [2G3]
 Practise, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities;
 And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to
 helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not
 a Man trust his Victorie over his *Nature* too farre; For *Nature* 35
 will lay buried a great Time, and yet revive, upon the Occasion
 or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æsopes Damosell*, turned

7 alter and subdue] alter H51

10 Faylings] failes 12b (H51)-24

18-19 Like . . . Angry:] not in H51

21 Drinking] drinking of 13c, 24 at a] a 12b (H51)-24

Ancient Rule] it H51 *Nature* as a Wand] nature H51

. . . it] not in H51

34-41 But . . . it.] not in 12b (H51)-24

9 nor] not 13b, 13c, 24

15 Perfection] pfection 12b

20-1 As . . . Meale:] not in H51

26 the

27-8 whereby

no] not 13c, 24

from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the
Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let
40 a Man, either avoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe
often to it, that hee may be little moved with it. A Mans
Nature is best perceived in *Privatenesse*, for there is no
Affectation; In *Passion*, for that putteth a Man out of his
Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there *Custom*
45 leaveth him. They are happie Men, whose *Natures* sort with
their Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multùm Incola fuit*
Anima mea: when they converse in those Things, they doe
[2G3^v] not Affect. In Studies, whatsoever a Man | commandeth upon
himselfe, let him set Houres for it: But whatsoever is agreeable
50 to his *Nature*, let him take no Care, for any set Times: For
his Thoughts, will flie to it of Themselves; So as the Spaces
of other *Businesse*, or Studies, will suffice. A Mans *Nature*
runnes either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him season-
ably Water the One, and Destroy the Other. |

43 Affectation; In *Passion*] affectation, in *passion* 13a, 13b, 14; affection, in *passion* 13c, 24 44 or] for 13c, 24 48 Affect] effect 13c, 24
52 *Businesse*] businesses 24 52-4 A . . . Other.] not in 12b (H51)-24

[2G4]

Of Custome and Education. XXXIX.

Mens Thoughts are much according to their Inclination:
5 Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning,
and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they have
beene *Accustomed*. And therefore, as *Macciavel* well noteth
(though in an evill favoured Instance) There is no Trusting to
the Force of Nature, nor to the Bravery of Words; Except it
10 be Corroborate by *Custom*. His Instance is, that for the
Atchieving of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not rest
upon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute

1-2 Of Custome and Education.] essay not in 97a-12a 3 XXXIX.]
31. H51; 27. 12b, 13a, 13b, 14; misnumbered as 37. 13c, 24; 24. 12c
4 Inclination] naturall inclination H51 5 Discourse and Speeches]
speeches H51 Learning] learnings H51 7 well] very well 12c

Undertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But *Macciavel* knew not of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, | nor a *Jaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*: yet [2G4v] his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of 16 Words, are not so forcible, as *Custome*. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome*, even in matter of Bloud. In 20 other Things, the Predominancy of *Custome* is every where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Give Great Words, and then Doe just as they have Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moved onely by the wheelles of *Custome*. We see 25 also the Raigne or Tyrannie of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay Themselves quietly upon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by Fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Ancient Time, 30 were wont to be Scourged upon the Altar of *Diana*, with-| out so much as Queching. I remember in the beginning of [2H1] *Queene Elizabeths* time of *England*, an *Irish Rebelle* Condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputie*, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in an Halter, because it had beene 35 so used, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monkes* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of *Custome*, both upon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since *Custome* is the Principall Magistrate of Mans 40 life; Let Men by all Meanes endeavour, to obtaine good *Customes*. Certainly, *Custome* is most perfect, when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call *Education*; which is, in effect, but an *Early Custome*. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the 45

13 an one] a one 12b (H51), 12c, 13b-24; a 13a (cw one) 14 Friar] preceded by series of tildes H51 15 Jaureguy] Jaureguy 12b-24 nor . . . Baltazar Gerard:] nor a (blank space) H51 17 Words] word H51 20 Equipollent] equivollent 13b, 13c, 24 Custome, even] Custome H51 24 just as] just, as 12b (H51)-24 25 wheelles of Custome] custome H51 25-39 We . . . Body.] not in 12b (H51)-24 40 Mans] mens 14 42 most] more 13c, 24 44 in effect] nothing but 12b (H51)-24 44-7 So . . . afterwards.] not in 12b (H51)-24

Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activitie, and Motions,
 in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners,
 cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes,
 [2H1^v] that | have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have kept
 50 themselves open and prepared, to receive continuall Amend-
 ment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of *Custome*
 Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of *Custome*
 Copulate, and Conjoynd, and Collegiate, is far Greater. For
 there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation
 55 quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of
Custome is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication
 of Vertues upon Humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well
 Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good
 Governments, doe nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much
 60 mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall
 Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired. |

47 Learners] termes *H51*
 59 not much] not *12b (H51)-24*

53 Collegiate] in troupe *12b (H51)-24*
 60 Effectuall] effectuall *12b*

Emendation of Accidentals. 35 Halter] 25 (*second-state corr.*); Haltar 25(*u*)
 58 Commonwealths] Common-|wealths 25 60 Seeds] 25 (*second-state*
corr.); seeds 25(*u*)

[2H2]

Of Fortune. XL.

It cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents, conduce much
 to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion
 5 fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans *Fortune*, is
 in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*; saith the
 Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that
 the Folly of one Man, is the *Fortune* of Another. For no
 Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. *Serpens nisi*
 10 *Serpentem comederit non fit Draco*. Overt, and Apparent

1 Of Fortune.] essay not in 97a-12a
 13a-24; 25. 12c

2 XL.] 32. *H51*; 28. 12b,

4 Fortune] a Mans fortune 12b (*H51*)-24
 Opportunitie, Death of Others] Oportune death of others 12b (*H51*)-12c, 13c;
 Oportune | Death of others 13a, 13b, 14, 24 (death) 6-7 his . . . Poet.]
 himselfe. 12b (*H51*)-24 9 suddenly] sodenly 12b

vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden
 Vertues, that bring Forth *Fortune*. Certaine Deliveries of
 a Mans Selfe, which have no Name. The Spanish Name,
Desemboltura, partly ex-|presseth them: When there be not [2H2^v]
 Stonds, nor Restivenesse in a Mans Nature; But that the 15
 wheelles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheelles of his
Fortune. For so *Livie* (after he had described *Cato Major*,
 in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi*
fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus
videretur;) falleth upon that, that he had, *Versatile Ingenium*. 20
 Therefore, if a Man looke Sharply, and Attentively, he shall
 see *Fortune*: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not
 Invisible. The Way of *Fortune*, is like the *Milken Way* in the
 Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small
 Stars; Not Scene asunder, but Giving Light together. So are 25
 there, a Number of Little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or
 rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men *Fortunate*.
 The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little
 thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse,
 they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, 30
Poco di Matto. And certainly, there be not two more |
Fortunate Properties; Then to have a *Little* of the *Foole*; [2H3]
 And not *Too Much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, Extreme
 Lovers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*,
 neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts 35
 without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie
Fortune maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover, (The *French*
 hath it better; *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*) But the Exercised
Fortune maketh the Able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured,

11 Secret and Hidden] hidden and secret 12b (H51)-24 13 Name]
 word 12b (H51)-24 14 *Desemboltura*] *Deremboltura* 12b, 12c (ink corr.)
 in 5 of 15 copies of 12b to *Desemboltura* and in another 5 to *Decemboltura*)
 partly expresseth them] sheweth them best H51 not] no 12b (H51)-24
 15-16 But . . . *Fortune*.] not in 12b (H51)-24 17 *Livie*] saith *Livie* well
 12b (H51)-24 20 falleth] He falleth 12b (H51)-24 21 Therefore]
 Certainly H51 21 Attentively, he] 25 (second-state corr.); attentively, he
 25(u); accentively hee 12b (H51)-24 25 Not . . . together.] not in H51 28-9 note
 some . . . thinke.] some . . . thinke, 12b (note interlined in ink in 11 of 15 copies);
 have found out one of them; *Poco di matto* H51 30 they will . . . hath,]
 not in H51 32 Properties] pros-|perities H51 (deleted and lemma inter-
 lined by Hand B (Bacon)) 35 when] interlined in H51 by Hand A
 38 *Entreprenant*] *Enterprenant* 12b; *Interprenant* 13a-24 *Remuant*] *Remnant*
 12c, 13a-24; *Remuaut* 12b, H51 (reworked to lemma by Hand A)

- 40 and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, *Confidence*,
and *Reputation*. For those two Felicitie breedeth: The first
within a Mans Selfe; the Latter, in Others towards Him. All
Wise Men, to decline the Envie of their owne vertues, use to
ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; For so they may
45 the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in
a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said
to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et Fortunam*
eius. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*.
[2H3^v] And it hath | beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too
50 much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end *Infortunate*.
It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in
the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often
interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part*,
never prospered in any Thing he undertooke afterwards.
55 Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*,
that have a Slide, and Easinesse, more then the Verses of
other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleons Fortune*, in
respect of that of *Agesilaüs*, or *Epaminondas*. And that this
should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe. |

41 and] followed by eight tildes in H51 42 within] in H51
Latter] later 12b (H51), 13a Others towards Him] others H51 46-8 So
... Magnus.] not in 12b (H51)-24 49-54 And ... afterwards.] not in
H51 55-9 Certainly, ... Selfe.] not in 12b (H51)-24

Emendation of Accidentals. 4 Fortune:] 25 (second-state corr.); ~. 25(u)
43 Men,] 25 (second-state corr.); ~^ 25(u) Envie] 25(u); Envy 25 (second-
state corr.) 44 ascribe] 25 (first-state corr.); a scribe 25(u)

[2H4]

Of Usurie XLI.

- Many have made Wittie Invectives against *Usurie*. They say,
that it is Pitie, the Devill should have Gods part, which is the
5 *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker,
because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the *Usurer* is
the *Droane*, that *Virgil* speaketh of:

1 Of Usurie.] Usurie and use thereof. Cn; essay not in 97a-24 4 the] that
the Cn 5 Sabbath Breaker] Sabaoth-breaker Cn 7 speaketh]
speakes Cn

Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Usurer* breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultûs tui* 10 comedes *Panem tuum*; Not, *In sudore Vultûs alieni*. That *Usurers* should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Judaize*. That it is against Nature; for *Money* to beget *Money*; And the like. I say | this onely, that *Usury* is a *Con-* [2H4^v] *cessum propter Duritiem Cordis*: For since there must be 15 Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some Others have made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discovery of Mens Estates, and other Inventions. But few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before 20 us, the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Usury*; That the Good may be, either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are: First, that it makes 25 fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of *Usury*, *Money* would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Employed upon Merchandizing; Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit 30 at a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot drive | his Trade so [2H1] well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State, into a few 35 Hands. For the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game; Most of the *Money*

37 Game] 25 (second-state corr.), Cn; Gaine 25(u)

10 after the Fall] not in Cn 22-4 And . . . worse.] And wthall it is fitt to see how wee can make a *Bridge* from the present practise, to the Reformation: least while wee make forth toward that w^{ch} is Better, wee meett w^h that w^{ch} is worse. Cn 25 *Discommodities* . . . First,] *The Discommodities of Usurie*
The first discommoditie of *Usurie* is, Cn 29 Second, that] second is that Cn 30, 31-2 so well] (soe well) Cn 31 his] a Cn 33-4 Customes . . . States] the Kinges Customes Cn 34 Ebbe or flow] ebbs or flowes Cn 34-5 Fourth, that] fourth is that Cn 35 bringeth] brings Cn a few] few Cn 37 Game] Gaine 25(u)

will be in the Boxe; And ever a State flourisheth, when
Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe
40 the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money, is chiefly,
either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; And *Usury* Way-layes
both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Damp all Industries,
Improvements, and new Inventions, wherin Money would be
Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the
45 Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in processe
of Time breeds a Publike Povertie.

On the other side, the *Commodities of Usury* are: First, that
[211^v] howsoever *Usury* in | some respect hindereth Merchandizing,
yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain, that the
50 Greatest Part of Trade, is driven by Young Merchants, upon
Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer*, either call in, or
keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great
Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie
borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon
55 them, a most sudden undoing; In that they would be forced
to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre under Foot;
and so, whereas *Usury* doth but Gnaw upon them, Bad
Markets would Swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging, or
Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will
60 not take Pawnes without *Use*; Or if they doe, they will looke
precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a Cruell Moneyed
Man, in the Country, that would say; The Devill take this
Usury, it keepe us from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and
Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceive, |
[212] that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And
66 it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconveniences,
that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to
speake of the Abolishing of *Usury* is Idle. All States have
ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion
70 must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speake now, of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of

39 Fifth, that]	fift is that Cn	42 Sixth, that]	sixt is that Cn
44 this] the Cn	Last, that]	last is that Cn	45 many] many
particular Cn	45-6 processe of Time]	processe Cn	47 On
. . . are:]	The <i>Commodities of Usurie</i> Cn	First, that]	first is, that Cn
54 upon <i>Interest</i>]	Money upon <i>Usurie</i> Cn	55 most]	more Cn
55 would] may Cn	61-4 I . . . Bonds.]	not in Cn	65 that there]
there Cn	71-3 To . . . retained.]	The <i>reformation and reiglement of Usurie.</i> Cn	

Usury; How the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of *Commodities*, and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usurie* be 75 grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to invite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two severall *Sorts* of *Usury*; A *Lesse*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Usury*, to 80 one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seeke for Money. And | it is to be noted, [212^v] that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may beare *Usury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. 85 That there be *Two Rates* of *Usury*, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other under *Licence*, only to *Certaine Persons*, and in *Certaine Places* of *Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Usury*, in generall, be reduced to *Five in the Hundred*; And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and 90 Current; And let the State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, wil 95 yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that | kinde, then take Five in the Hundred, especially having beene used to greater 100 Profit. Secondly, let there be *Certaine Persons licensed to Lend*, to *knowne Merchants*, upon *Usury* at a *Higher Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie, then

74 <i>Commodities</i>] the commodities Cn	Two] that two Cn	75 <i>Tooth</i>] teeth Cn
77 lend to] lend Cn	79 <i>Sorts</i>] Rates Cn	
81 Borrower] Borrowers Cn	83 being . . . Lucrative] not in Cn	85 To . . . thus.]
The Proposition The Proposition that serves both intentions, is shortly, Cn		
87 to] for [deleted] to Cn	91 let the State] and the king Cn	
it selfe] himselfe Cn	96 and somewhat more] not in Cn	100 used]
inured Cn	101-2 to Lend, . . . Usury] (as Lenders) to take interest Cn	
103 the] these Cn	104-5 even . . . pay] Nyne in the hundred Cn	

105 that he used formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all
 Borrowers shall have some ease, by this Reformation, be he
 Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common
 Stocke, but every Man be Master of his owne Money: Not
 that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be
 110 brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be
 answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest
 left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will
 no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that
 tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend
 115 to Eight in the Hundred, then give over his Trade of *Usury*;
 And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let |
 [213^v] these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained
 to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing:
 For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens
 120 Moneyes, in the Country: So as the *Licence of Nine*, will not
 sucke away the current *Rate of Five*: For no Man will send
 his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Unknown Hands.

If it be Objected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize
Usury, which before was, in some places, but Permissive:
 125 The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate *Usury* by
Declaration, then to suffer it to Rage by *Connivence*. |

121 send] 25(u), Cn; Lend 25(c)

109 altogether Mislike] dislike Cn hardly] not Cn 110-16 State
 . . . goe] King be answered one part of y^e Nyne in the hundred, and the Lender
 have left to him eight. ffor the King may verie well take a Nynth part of the
 interest, being intituled by Law to the whole Nyne. And eight in y^e hundred is
 profit enough to invite the Lender. ffor he whose mind standes to Usurie, will
 sooner descend from Ten to Eight, then Cn 117 Licenced Lenders]
 Lenders Cn in Number Indefinite] indefinite in number Cn 118 Cer-
 taine . . . Merchandizing] London, and certaine speciall Townes of Trade Cn
 119 be hardly] not be Cn 121 send] Cn, 25(u); Lend 25(c)
 123-6 If . . . *Connivence*.] To this some objections may be made w^{ch} may receive
 an easie answere

Ob. 1 That by this the King doth in effect authorize Usurie.

Resp. This is a Puritans objection. ffor it were better to mitigate Usurie by
 declaration then to suffer it to rage as it doth by connivence.

Ob. 2. That though certaine men be Licenced, yet they will colour the Monie of
 many others.

Resp. The better. ffor the kings profit wilbe the more. And besides it will
 salve that inconvenience (w^{ch} is somewhat harsh) of the discoverie of mens
 Estates. ffor it will not be knowne of the Monie Lent, how much is the Lenders
 proper, and how much by ffacturage.

Ob. 3. That the kings account concerning his part wilbe hard to take.

Resp. Lett there not be too much precisenes in this att the first: but lett the Accompt be made in generall of the summes w^hout naming persons. But lett it be upon Oath of the Accomptant: ffor it needs not much be feared, that the Accomptants (being men of value) will expose themselves (att once) to the losse of the interest, to the losse of their License, to perjurie, and to Contempt.

Ob. 4: That many doe att this present Lett for eight in the hundred, and this course would raise the rate to Nine. And that the verie gaine of Merchanizing doth scarce beare Eight in the hundred.

Resp. This objection hath noe substance, ffor it is but a handfull of Lenders that lend att eight. And for the gaine of Merchants that it should not beare eight in the hundred, tis either a whining where there is noe cause, or else a mistaking. ffor it is not to be understood, as if Merchants did drive their whole Trade upon borrowing att Ten in the hundred. ffor all of them in effect have some stocke of their owne, and the borrowing att interest is but supplementall att times.

The Bridge or Passage from the Practise to the Reformation

This course propounded is soe moderate and safe, that it is rather upon a waie, then upon a Bridge. ffor the great feare w^{ch} is the suddaine Stand of Trade by wthdrawing the Monies mens purse (w^{ch} is the Poole that fills the Rivers) is holpen by the Licence. Onely this would be added; That the King by his Proclamation or Ordinance published, doe warrant and require the *Chancerie*, and other Courts of Equity to give such Remedie as to Conscience apptaines, where the Usurer (by occasion if this *Reformation* doth call in his Money too suddenly: and to give the debtors favorable and convenient daie, paying the New Rates, and upon reasonable security.

The Conclusion

By this proposicion the violence of Usurie wilbe asswaged; Monies will by degrees find the waie to other employmentes: There wilbe noe feare of the Stand of Trade for the present: and the king shall reape some profitt, but accompanied both wth a Remission of Penaltie, and wth the honor of a *Reformation*. *Cn*

Emendation of Accidentals. 19 Bankes, Discovery] 25 (*second-state corr.*)
 Baukes, discovery 25(u) 24 that] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~, 25(u)
 25 are:] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~. 25(u) 27 Usury] 25 (*second-state corr.*); Usury 25(u) Part] 25 (*second-state corr.*); part 25(u) 33 Decay]
 25 (*third-state corr.*); decay 25(u) 45 Ruine] 25 (*second-state corr.*);
 Ruin 25(u) 47 are:] 25 (*second-state corr.*); are. 25(u)
 87 Licence, only] *Cn*; ~ ^ ~, 25 88 Merchandizing.] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~, 25(u) 89 Usury,] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~ ^ 25(u)
 108 Money:] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~. 25(u)

[214]

Of Youth
and Age.
XLII.

A Man that is *Young in yeares*, may be Old in Houres, if he
 5 have lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally,
youth is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second.
 For there is a *youth* in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet
 the Invention of *Young Men*, is more lively, then that of Old:
 And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it
 10 were, more Divinely. Natures that have much Heat, and great
 and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action,
 till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was
 with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*. Of the latter of
 whom, it is said; *Iuventutem egit, Erroribus, imò Furoribus,*
 [214^v] *plenam*. And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, | almost, of all
 16 the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in *Youth*. As it
 is seene, in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*,
Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, Heate and
 Vivacity in *Age*, is an Excellent Composition for *Busnesse*.
 20 *Young Men*, are Fitter to Invent, then to Judge; Fitter for
 Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Projects,
 then for Setled *Busnesse*. For the Experience of *Age*, in
 Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them;
 But in New Things, abuseth them. The Errours of *Young*
 25 *Men* are the Ruine of *Busnesse*; But the Errours of *Aged*
Men amount but to this; That more might have beene done,
 or sooner. *Young Men*, in the Conduct, and Mannage of
 Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more
 then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration
 30 of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles,
 which they have chanced upon absurdly; Care not to Innovate,

1-2 Of Youth and Age.] Of Young men and Age. 12b (H51)-24; essay not in
 97a-12a 3 XLII.] 19. H51; 23. 12b, 13a-24; 20. 12c 7-10 And
 . . . Divinely.] not in 12b (H51)-24 12-16 As . . . List.] not in 12b
 (H51)-24 16-18 As . . . others.] not in 12b (H51)-24 18 On]
 as on 12b (H51)-24 24 New Things] things meerly new 12b (H51)-24
 26 might] mought H51

which draws unknowne Inconveniencies; | Use extreme [2K1]
 Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will
 not acknowledge or retract them; Like an unready Horse, that
 will neither Stop, nor Turne. *Men of Age*, Object too much, 35
 Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone,
 and seldome drive Businesse home to the full Period; But
 content themselves with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly,
 it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will
 be Good for the *Present*, because the Vertues of either *Age*, 40
 may correct the defects of both: And good for Succession,
 that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men in Age* are
 Actours: And lastly, Good for *Externe Accidents*, because
 Authority followeth *Old Men*, And Favour and Popularity,
Youth. But for the Morall Part, perhaps *Youth* will have the 45
 preheminance, as *Age* hath for the Politique. A certaine
Rabbine, upon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions*,
and your Old Men shall dreame dreames; Inferreth, that
Young Men are admitted nearer to God | then *Old*; Because [2K1^v]
Vision is a clearer Revelation, then a *Dreame*. And certainly, 50
 the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it in-
 toxicateth; And *Age* doth profit rather in the Powers of
 Understanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections.
 There be some have an Over-early Ripenesse in their yeares,
 which fadeth betimes: These are first, Such as have Brittle 55
 Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was
Hermogenes the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding
 Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of
 those, that have some naturall Dispositions, which have
 better Grace in *Youth*, then in *Age*: Such as is a fluent and 60
 Luxuriant Speech; which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*:
 So *Tully* saith of *Hortensius*; *Idem manebat, neque idem*
decebat. The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the
 First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares can
 uphold. As was *Scipio Affricanus*, of whom *Livy* saith in 65
 effect; *Ultima primis cedebant*. |

43 Good for] in respect of 12b (H51)-24

24 45 Morall] mortall 13c, 24

14; Rabbie 24

the understanding H51

(H51)-24

50 Vision] a Vision H51

54-66 There . . . cedebant.] not in 12b

Externe] extreame 13a-

47 Rabbine] Rabby 12b (H51)-

53 Understanding]

Emendation of Accidentals. 20 Invent,] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~^ 25(u)
 22 Businesse] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Businnesse 25(u) 26 done,] 25 (*second-*
state corr.); ~^ 25(u) 29 End] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Ende 25(u) 32 draws]
 25 (*first-state corr.*); draws 25(u) Inconveniences] 25 (*first-state corr.*);
 Incoueniences 25(u) 44 Popularity,] ~^ 25 54 Over-early]
 Over-early 25 59 Dispositions] 25 (*second-state corr.*); dispositions 25(u)
 62 Hortensius] 25 (*second-state corr.*); Hortentius 25(u) 65 Affricanus]
 Affri-icanus 25 (*first-state corr.*); Affri.icanus 25(u)

[2K2]

Of Beauty. XLIII.

Vertue is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely, Vertue
 is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate
 5 Features: And that hath rather Dignity of Presence, then
Beauty of Aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that very
Beautifull Persons, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if
 Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour, to
 produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove Accomplished,
 10 but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behaviour, then
 Vertue. But this holds not alwaies; For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus*
Vespasianus, *Philip le Belle* of France, *Edward the Fourth* of
 England, *Alcibiades* of Athens, *Ismael the Sophy* of Persia,
 were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most *Beautifull*
 [2K2^v] *Men* of their | Times. In *Beauty*, that of Favour, is more then
 16 that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion,
 more then that of Favour. That is the best Part of *Beauty*,
 which a Picture cannot expresse; No, nor the first Sight of
 the Life. There is no Excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some
 20 Strangenesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether
Apelles, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the
 one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions:
 The other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, to
 make one Excellent. Such Personages, I thinke, would please
 25 no Body, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I thinke

1 Of Beauty.] <i>essay not in 97a-12a</i>	2 XLIII.] 5. H51; 24. 12b,
13a-24; 21. 12c	3 like] <i>not in 12b (u)</i>
(H51)-24	4 best] best set 12b
not in 12b (H51)-24	6 Aspect] respect 13a-24
12b (H51)-24	11-15 But . . . Times.]
20 Proportion] proportions 12b-13b, 14	18 nor] not 24
one] one the 12b; one they 12c	19 There] and there
	21-2 the

a Painter, may make a better Face, then ever was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde never a good; And yet all together doe 30 well. If it be true, that the Principall Part of *Beauty*, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvaile, though | *Persons in* [2K3] *Yeares*, seeme many times more Amiable; *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*: For no *Youth* can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make up the 35 comelinesse. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush. | 40

29-31 A . . . well.] not in 12b (H51)-24

35 and] and by H51

Emendation of Accidentals. 3 surely,] 25 (second-state corr.); ~ ^ 25(u)
5 Dignity] 25 (second-state corr.); dignity 25(u) 11 Vertue.] 25 (second-state corr.); ~; 25(u) 18 No,] ~ ^ 25

Of Deformity. XLIH.

[2K3^v]

Deformed Persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall* 5 *Affection*; And so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and 10 a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline,

1 Of Deformity.] essay not in 97a-12a 2 XLIH.] 18. H51; 25. 12b, 13a-24; 22. 12c 3 Nature] natures 13c, 24 5 most part] most 12b, 12c (part interlined in ink in 9 of 15 copies of 12b) 11 a . . . Body] interlined in H51 by Hand A 12 Inclination] inclinacions H51

and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*,
 [2K4] not as a Signe, which is more Deceivable; But as | a Cause,
 15 which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any
 Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt, hath
 also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliver
 himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are
 extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed
 20 to Scorn; But in Processe of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also
 it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to
 watch and observe the Weaknesse of Others, that they may
 have somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it
 quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they
 25 think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their
 Competitours and Emulatours asleepe; As never beleev-
 ing, they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see
 them in Possession. So that, upon the matter, in a great Wit,
Deformity is an Advantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times,
 30 (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put
 [2K4^v] Great Trust in *Eunuchs*; Because they, that are | Envious
 towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards
 One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as
 to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates,
 35 and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed*
Persons. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit,
 seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either
 by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Marvelled,
 if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was *Agesilaus*,
 40 *Zanger* the Sonne of *Solyman*, *Æsope*, *Gasca* President of
Peru; And *Socrates* may goe likewise amongst them; with
 Others. |

21 to] *interlined in H51 by Hand A*
 28 matter] whole matter 12b (H51)-24
 proove either the best of men, or the worst, or strangely mixed. 12b (H51)-24

22 Weaknesse] weakenesses H51
 38-42 let . . . Others.] they

Of Building.
XLV.

[2L1]

Houses are built to Live in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie; Except where both may be had. Leave the Goodly Fabrickes of *Houses*, for 5 Beautie only, to the *Enchanted Pallaces* of the *Poets*: Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire *House*, upon an *ill Seat*, committeth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an *ill Seat*, only, where the Aire is Unwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is unequall; As you shall see 10 many Fine *Seats*, set upon a knap of Ground, Environed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversitie of Heat and | Cold, as if you Dwelt in severall Places. Neither is it *ill Aire* [2L1^v] onely, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; 16 And, if you will consult with *Momus*, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of severall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of Levell Grounds; 20 Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Having no Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the discommodity of their Overflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all 25 Provisions, and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scant: All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can: And if he have severall Dwellings, 30 that he sort them so, that what hee wan-|teth in the One, hee [2L2] may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his *Houses*, said; *Surely, an*

23 no Commodity] ed. (*Spedding conj.*); the Commodity 25

35 *excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter?*
Lucullus answered; *Why, doe you not think me as wise, as*
some Fowle are, that ever change their Aboad towards the
Winter?

To passe from the *Seat*, to the *House* it selfe; We will doe
 40 as *Cicero* doth, in the *Oratours Art*; Who writes *Bookes*
De Oratore, and a Booke he entitles *Orator*: Whereof the
 Former delivers the Precepts of the *Art*; And the Latter the
Perfection. We will therefore describe a *Princely Pallace*,
 making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now
 45 in *Europe*, such Huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escuriall*,
 and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire Roome
 in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a Perfect *Pallace*,
 except you have two severall Sides; A Side for the *Banquet*,
 [2L2^v] as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester*; | And a Side; for the
 51 *Houshold*: The One for Feasts and Triumphs, and the Other
 for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides, to be not onely
 Returnes, but Parts of the *Front*; And to be uniforme without,
 though severally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides,
 55 of a Great and *Stately Tower*, in the Middest of the *Front*;
 That as it were, joyneth them together, on either Hand.
 I would have on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only
Goodly Roome, above Staires, of some Fortie Foot high;
 And under it, a Roome, for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place*, at
 60 Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Houshold*
 Side, I wish it divided at the first, into a *Hall*, and a *Chappell*,
 (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bignesse:
 And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further
 end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parler*, both Faire. And under
 65 these Roomes, A Faire and Large *Cellar*, suncke under
 Ground: And likewise, some *Privie Kitchens*, with *Butteries*,
 [2L3] and *Pantries*, and the | like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it
 two Stories, of Eighteene Foot High a peece, above the two
 Wings; And a Goodly *Leads* upon the Top, railed with Statua's
 70 interposed; And the same *Tower* to bee divided into Roomes,
 as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the upper
 Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open *Newell*, and finely
 railed in, with *Images of Wood*, cast into a Brasse Colour: And
 a very faire *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you

doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place 75
 of Servants. For otherwise, you shall have the Servants
 Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come up
 as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I understand
 the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which
 is the Height of the Lower Roome. 80

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire *Court*, but three
 Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the *Front*. And in
 all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast
 into *Turrets*, on the Out-|side, and not within the Row of [2L3^v]
Buildings themselves. But those *Towers*, are not to be of the 85
 Height of the *Front*; But rather Proportionable to the Lower
Building. Let the *Court* not be paved, for that striketh up
 a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But onely
 some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, and the *Quarters* to Graze,
 being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The Row of 90
Returne, on the *Banquet Side*, Let it be all *Stately Galleries*;
 In which *Galleries*, Let there be three, or five, fine *Cupola's*,
 in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine
Coloured Windowes of severall workes. On the Houshold
 Side, *Chambers of Presence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, 95
 with some *Bed-chambers*; And let all three Sides, be a double
 House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides, that you may
 have Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and
 After-noone. Cast it also, that you may have Roomes, both
 for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warme 100
 for Winter. You shall have some-|times Faire *Houses*, so full [2L4]
 of Glasse, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of
 the Sunne, or Cold: For *Inbowed Windowes*, I hold them of
 good Use; (In Cities indeed, *Upright* doe better, in respect of
 the Uniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie 105
 Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both
 the Wind, and Sunne off: For that which would strike almost
 thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the *Window*. But let
 them be but few, Foure in the *Court*, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *Inward Court* of the 110
 same Square, and Height; Which is to be environed, with the
Garden, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all
 Sides, upon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first
 Story. On the *Under Story*, towards the *Garden*, Let it be

115 turned to a *Grotta*, or Place of Shade, or Estivation. And
 onely have opening and *Windowes* towards the *Garden*; And
 be Levell upon the Floare, no whit sunke under Ground, to
 [2L4^v] avoid all | Dampishnesse. And let there be a *Fountaine*, or
 some faire *Worke of Statua's*, in the Middest of this *Court*;
 120 And to be Paved as the other *Court* was. These Buildings to
 be for *Privie Lodgings*, on both Sides; And the End, for
Privie Galleries. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of
 them, be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince, or any Special
 Person should be Sicke, with *Chambers*, *Bed-chamber*,
 125 *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joyning to it. This upon the
 Second Story. Upon the *Ground Story*, a Faire *Gallery*,
Open, upon *Pillars*: And upon the *Third Story* likewise, an
Open Gallery upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse
 of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the further Side, by way
 130 of Returne, Let there be two Delicate or Rich *Cabinets*,
 Daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glased with *Crystalline*
Glasse, and a Rich *Cupola* in the Middest; And all other
 Elegancie that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery*
 too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some
 [2M1] *Fountaines* Running, in divers Places, from the | Wall, with
 136 some fine Avoidances. And thus much, for the Modell of the
Pallace: Save that, you must have, before you come to the
Front, three Courts. A *Greene Court Plaine*, with a Wall
 about it: A *Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished,
 140 with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, upon the
 Wall: And a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*,
 but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but
 enclosed with *Tarrasses*, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished,
 on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with
 145 *Pillars*, and not with *Arches* Below. As for *Offices*, let them
 stand at Distance, with some *Low Galleries*, to passe from
 them, to the *Pallace* it Selfe. |

139 Second] 25(c); Se- 25(u)

Emendation of Accidentals. 138 Plaine] 25(u); Plain 25(c)

Of Gardens.
XLVI.

[2M1^v]

God *Almightie* first Planted a *Garden*. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, *Buildings* and *Pallaces* 5 are but Grosse Handy-works: And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build Stately*, sooner then to *Garden Finely*: As if *Gardening* were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens*, for all the 10 *Moneths* in the Yeare: In which, severally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. For *December*, and *January*, and the Latter Part of *November*, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Ivy; Bayes; Juniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; | Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lavander; [2M2] Periwinkle, the White, the Purple, and the Blewe; Germander; 16 Flagges; Orange-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stooved; and Sweet Marjoram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of *January*, and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, 20 and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacyntus Orientalis; Chamaïris; Frettellaria. For *March*, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian- 25 Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In *Aprill* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couslip; Flower-De-lices, and Lillies of all Natures; Rosemary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in 30 Blossome; The Dammasin, and Plum-|Trees in Blossome; The [2M2^v]

4 pleasures] 25 (*first-state corr.*); pleasure 25(u) 5 which,] 25(c);
which 25(u) 16 Blewe] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Blene [*i.e.* Bleue with
turned u] 25(u) 18 stooved] 25 (*first-state corr.*); stirred 25(u)
28 of all] 25 (*first-state corr.*); of 25(u)

upon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers, specially the Matted Pinck, and Clove 70 Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, so they be somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume* the Aire most delightfully, not *passed by* as the rest, but being *Troden upon* and *Crushed*, 75 are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For *Gardens*, (Speaking of those, which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we have done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not 80 well to be, under *Thirty Acres of Ground*; And to be divided into three | Parts: A *Greene* in the Entrance; A *Heath* or [2M4] *Desart* in the Going forth; And the *Maine Garden* in the middest; Besides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be assigned to the *Greene*; Six to the 85 *Heath*; Foure and Foure to either *Side*; And Twelve to the *Maine Garden*. The *Greene* hath two pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then *Greene Grasse* kept finely shorne; The other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front 90 upon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to inclose the *Garden*. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by Going in the Sunne thorow the *Greene*; therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Covert Alley*, upon 95 Carpenters Worke, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden*. As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, that they may | lie under the Windowes of the House, on that Side, [2M4v] which the *Garden* stands, they be but Toyes: You may see 100 as good Sight, many times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be upon *Pillars*, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the

69-70 Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers,] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Pinks, 25(u)
83 *Maine Garden*] 25 (*first-state corr.*); *Garden* 25(u)

105 *Spaces* between, of the same Dimension, with the *Breadth*
of the *Arch*. Over the *Arches*, let there be an *Entire Hedge*,
of some Foure Foot High, framed also upon Carpenters
Worke: And upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch*, a little
110 *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds*: And
over every *Space*, between the *Arches*, some other little
Figure, with Broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glasse*, gilt,
for the *Sunne*, to Play upon. But this *Hedge* I entend to be,
raised upon a *Bancke*, not *Steepe*, but gently *Slope*, of some
Six Foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this
[2N1] *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole | Breadth of
116 the Ground, but to leave, on either Side, Ground enough,
for diversity of *Side Alleys*: Unto which, the Two *Covert*
Alleys of the *Greene*, may deliver you. But there must be,
no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*, of this great *Inclosure*:
120 Not at the *Hither End*, for letting your Prospect upon this
Faire Hedge from the *Greene*; Nor at the *Further End*, for
letting your Prospect from the *Hedge*, through the *Arches*,
upon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*,
125 I leave it to Variety of Device; Advising neverthelesse, that
whatsoever forme you cast it into, first it be not too Busie,
or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images*
Cut out in *Juniper*, or other *Garden stuffe*: They be for
Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round, like *Welts*, with some
130 Pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in some Places, *Faire*
Columnnes upon Frames of Carpenters Worke. I would also,
have the *Alleys*, Spacious and *Faire*. You may have *Closer*
[2N1^v] *Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but | none in the *Maine*
Garden. I wish also, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with
135 three *Ascents*, and *Alleys*, enough for foure to walke a breast;
Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any
Bulwarkes, or Imbosments; And the *Whole Mount*, to be
Thirty Foot high; And some fine *Banquetting House*, with
some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glasse*.
140 For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment;
But *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden* unwholsome, and

108 And . . . *Arch*] 25(c); And over every *Arch*, and upon the *Upper Hedge*,
over every *Arch* 25(u) 126 into, first] 25(c); into first, 25(u) 127 *Images*]
25(c); *Images*, 25(u)

full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinckleth* or *Spouteth Water*; The Other a *Faire Receipt* of *Water*, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, doe well: But the maine Matter is, so to Convey the Water, as it never Stay, either in the Bowles, or in the Cesterne; That the Water be never by Rest *Discoloured*, *Greene*, or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossinesse* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. some *Steps* up to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of *Fountaine*, which we may call a *Bathing Poole*, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selves: As, that the Bottome be finely Paved, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of *Fountaine*; which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole*, and Delivered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in severall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse*. *Trees* I would have none in it; But some *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-suckle*, and some *Wilde Vine* amongst; And the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Prime-Roses*. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-hils*, (such as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be set, some with *Wilde Thyme*; Some with *Pincks*; Some with *Germander*, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; Some with *Periwinckle*; Some with *Violets*; Some with *Strawberries*; Some with *Couslips*; Some with *Daisies*; Some with *Red-Roses*; Some with *Lilium Convallium*; Some with *Sweet-Williams*

Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to
 [2N3] be | with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their Top,
 185 and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roses; Juniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;) Red Currans; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

190 For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Varieties* of *Alleys*, Private, to give a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those *Alleys* must be likewise
 195 hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these *Closer Alleys*, must bee ever finely Gravelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the
 [2N3^v] *Borders*, wherein you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire | and
 201 Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceive the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some Pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Brest
 205 high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees*; And some Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no
 210 Meanes, set too thicke; But to leave the *Maine Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for *Shade*, I would have you rest, upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account, that the *Maine*
 215 *Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Over-cast Dayes.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that
 [2N4] Largenesse, as they may be | *Turffed*, and have *Living Plants*,

and *Bushes*, set in them; That the *Birds* may have more Scope, 220
 and Naturall Neastling, and that no *Foulenesse* appeare, in
 the *Floare* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Platforme of
 a *Princely Garden*, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not
 a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I have
 spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for *Great Princes*, that 225
 for the most Part, taking Advice with Workmen, with no
 Lesse Cost, set their Things together; And sometimes adde
Statua's, and such Things, for State, and Magnificence, but
 nothing to the true Pleasure of a *Garden*. |

Emendation of Accidentals. 21 Anemones] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Anemonies
 25(u) 22 Chamairis] 25 (*first-state corr.*); Camairis 25(u)
 23 come] 25(c); Come 25(u) 24 Almond-Tree] ~|~ 25 28 Couslip;]
 25(c); ~, 25(u) 28-9 Rose-mary] ~~ 25 30 Daffadill;] 25(c);
 ~, 25(u) 34-5 Hony-Suckles] ~~ 25 36 Ribes] 25(c); Ribies
 25(u) 38 Lillium] 25(c); Lillium 25(u) 39 Apple-tree] ~|~ 25
 Gilly-Flowers] ~|~ 25 53 Hand, therefore Nothing] 25(u); hand,
 therefore nothing 25(c) 56 Smelles] 25(u); Smels 25(c)
 63-4 Muske-Rose] ~~ 25 65 Smell.] 25(c); ~ [turned letter] 25(u) 71 tree]
 25(c); Tree 25(u) 72 Hony-Suckles] 25(c); Honny-Suckles 25(u)
 76 Water-Mints.] 25(c); ~, 25(u) 79-80 Prince-like] ~~ 25
 84 middest] 25(u); midst 25 (*first-state corr.*) 86 Side] 25 (*second-state*
corr.); side 25(u) 87 Greene] Greene 25 pleasures;] 25 (*first-state*
corr.); ~, 25(u) 93 shade] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~, 25(u)
 94 Greene;] ~, 25 97 Garden.] 25 (*first-state corr.*); ~, 25(u)
 106 be] 25(u); bee 25(c) 110 between] 25(u); betweene 25(c)
 147 is,] 25(c); ~^ 25(u) 154 Curiosity,] Cu-|riosity, 25(c); ~; 25(u)
 159 Point] 25(c); ~, 25(u) 161 Poole,] 25(c); ~. 25(u)
 181 Convallium;] 25(c); ~, 25(u) 186 Beare-berries] 25(c); ~; 25(u)
 187 Blossome;] 25(c); Blossome) 25(u) 187-8 Rose-Mary] ~~ 25
 191 Shade;] 25(c); ~: 25(u) 204 Enclosure] 25(c); ~, 25(u)

Of Negotiating. XLVII.

[2N4^v]

It is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And
 by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters
 are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter 5
 backe againe; Or when it may serve, for a Mans Justification,

2 XLVII.] 10. C, H62, H67, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c; 16. H51; 33. 12b-24
 3 generally better] better generally C; better H67 3 by Letter] w^h
 letter T Letter] letters C 4 by the] by H62; my H67 Mediation]
 meditation H67, 97b-12a, 12c, 13a-24 (*ink corr. in Trinity-Malone copy of 97b*)
 a Mans] ones C; a mans owne H67 5 Answer by Letter] answeare H67
 6 when] where H62 may] might T

afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be
 Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To *deale in*
Person is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as
 10 Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender Cases, where
 a Mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he
 speaketh, may give him a Direction, how farre to goe: And
 generally, where a Man will reserve to himselfe Libertie,
 [201] either to Disa-|vow, or to Expound. In Choice of *Instruments*,
 15 it is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to
 doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again
 faithfully the Successe; Then those, that are Cunning to
 Contrive out of other Mens Businesse, somewhat to grace
 themselves; And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satis-
 20 faction sake. Use also, such Persons, as affect the Businesse,
 wherein they are Employed; For that quickneth much; And
 such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation,
 Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry
 and Observation, Froward and Absurd Men for Businesse
 25 that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Use also such, as have
 beene Luckie, and Prevailed before in Things wherein you
 have Employed them; For that breeds Confidence, and they
 will strive to maintaine their Prescription. It is better, to
 sound a Person, with whom one *Deales*, a farre off, then to
 30 fall upon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize
 [201^v] him by some | Short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men
 in Appetite, then with those that are where they would be.
 If a Man *Deale* with another upon Conditions, the Start or
 First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably
 35 Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such,
 which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other

7-8 Or . . . Peeces.] *not in* Σ, 97a-H51 8 Peeces] Peeres 12b(u)
 9 when] where C, H62 breedeth] breeds Σ, 97a-24 10-14 Or . . .
 Expound.] *not in* Σ, 97a-H51 11 he] one 12b-24 15 a Plainer]
 a plaine T; plainer 13c, 24 like] likely C 16 that, that] that w^{ch} C,
 L to them] unto them C, H62, T 17 faithfully] *not in* H67 Then
 those] then they C; therof then those H62, H67 that are Cunning] that are
 conynge L; that are tuinge T; that seeke H67; w^{ch} seeke H62 19-20 Satis-
 faction] satisfactions H62, L, 97a 20-8 Use . . . Prescription.] *not in*
 Σ, 97a-24 29 *Deales*] dealeth C, L 30 at] at the H67, L
 31 by] wth H62, H67, L, T 32 in] of C that] which H62, H67, L.
 T, 97a-24; who C 33 Conditions] condycion H67, T 36 can
 perswade] perswade L

Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing;
 Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise,
 is to *Discover*, or to *Worke*. Men *Discover* themselves,
 in Trust; In Passion; At unawares; And of Necessitie, when 40
 they would have somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt
 Pretext. If you would *Worke* any Man, you must either know
 his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and
 so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disadvantages, and
 so Awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so 45
 Gouverne him. In *Dealing* with Cunning Persons, we must ever
 Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is
 good, to | say little to them, and that which they least looke [202]
 for. In all *Negotiations* of Difficultie, a Man may not looke,
 to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and 50
 so Ripen it by Degrees. |

37 shall still] shall C 37 Thing] matter H67 counted] accounted
 T 39 is to] ys eyther to H67 to Worke] to interlined in H51 by
 Hand A; worke H62 Worke. Men Discover.] make ^ men discover C; worke ^
 men to dyscover H67 40 And of] or uppon H67 when] where C
 41 they] a man H67 somewhat] somthinge H62 42 Pretext] precept
 H62, 97a would] will H67 Man] thinge H62, H67 43 his
 Ends] his end T; her endes H62 44 so Perswade] so winne C, H62, H67,
 L, 97a-12a, 12c; wine T his Weaknesse] his weakenesses C, 97a; her weakenesse
 H62 and Disadvantages] or disadvantages Σ, 97a-24 (disadvantage H62, H67,
 T, 13a-24) 46 him] them H51, 12b-24 ever] either T 48 to
 them] unto them C 49-51 In . . . Degrees.] not in Σ, 97a-24

Of Followers and Friends. XLVIII.

[202^v]

Costly *Followers* are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh
 his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to 5
 bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but
 which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary

1-2 Of Followers and Friends.] essay not in H67 3 XLVIII.] 4. C,
 H62, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c; 14. H51; 32. 12b, 13c, 24; misnumbered 33. 13a, 13b,
 14 4 Lest] least Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51 5 make] maketh Σ
 reckon] reckon them L 6 which] such as L 7 Importune]
 importunate C, L, 24

Followers ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs.

10 Factions *Followers* are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but upon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious

[203] *Followers*, | who make themselves as Trumpets, of the

16 Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are

20 Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Favour; For they are Officious, And commonly Exchange Tales. The *Following* by certaine *Estates* of *Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person

25 himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath ever beene a Thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one

30 that apprehendeth, to advance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Oddes in

[203^v] Sufficiencie, it is better to | take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base

8 *Followers*] following H62, L, 97a-12a, 12c Conditions] condicion T; recom(?)endacion) and condicions H62 9 Recommendation, and Protection] and protection H62 Wrongs] wrong Σ, 97a-12a, 12c 10 *Followers*] fellows 12b(u) 11 upon] wth L whom ... Themselves] w^{ch} they followe L range] raygne H62, T 12 Discontentment] some discontentment C; some discontentment discontentm^{te} L Conceived] received C Other] others C 13 commonly ensueth] ensueth commonly H62 13-14 we ... see] many times we see C; wee see many tymes H62 14 Personages.] personnes T 14-19 Likewise ... Envie.] not in Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51 15-16 who ... Follow] not in 12b, 13a-24 16-17 Inconvenience] inconveniency 12b, 13a-24 19-23 There ... Tales.] not in Σ, 97a-24 23 by] of C 24 *Estates* of *Men*] States Σ, 97a-24 24-5 Person himselfe] person L 25 to him that] that H62 26 hath ever] hath L 27 well] will 12b(u) 28 Pompe] homage H62 30 apprehendeth] intendeth C Sorts] sort 12b-24; kinde L 31 Persons. And] persons, and Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51 Eminent] imminent C 33-4 And ... Vertuous.] not in Σ, 97a-24

Times, Active Men are of more use, then Vertuous. It is true,
 that in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke 35
 equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make
 them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may
 claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with
 much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the
 Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more 40
 officious; Because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion, not
 to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One
 cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call
 it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and gives
 a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that 45
 would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediatly, will
 talke more boldly of Those, that are so great with them, and
 thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many
 is Worse; For it makes | Men, to be of the Last Impression, [204]
 and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Friends, is 50
 ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then
 Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is
 Little Friendship in the World, and Least of all betweene
 Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is
 between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may 55
 Comprehend, the One the Other. |

34-5 It . . . Government,] In government 97a-24; In government of charge Σ
 38 But contrariwise] But Σ, 97a-24 Favour] favours C, H62, L, 97a-12a,
 12c, H51 40-1 more officious] affectionous C 41 good
 Discretion, not] good not C, H62, T, 97a-24; not good L 42 any] a L
 the first] first C, T, 97a-12a, 12c 42-3 first; . . . To] first, and to L
 43 Proportion] perforce T; presen(?se) H62 43-4 (as . . . it)] not in
 Σ, 97a-24 44-8 safe: For . . . Honour.] good, Σ, 97a-24
 48 Yet] and Σ, 97a-24 with] by C, L 49 Worse] worst T
 49-50 For . . . Change.] not in Σ, 97a-24 50 To take Advice] but to
 take advise Σ, 97a-24 (advice 13c, 24) some few Friends] friends Σ, 97a-
 12a, 12c, H51 51 many times, see] see many tymes L 52 the
 Vale] Vally T 53 Least] lest H62 54 Equals, . . . Magnified]
 equals, C That that] that w^{ch} C, L is, is] is T 56 the One]
 one L; the one and H62, T the Other] other 24

Emendation of Accidentals. 13, 23 commonly] 25(c); Commonly 25(u)
 31 Oddes] 25(u); Odds 25(c) 43 cannot] 25(c); Cannot 25(u)

[204^v]

Of Sutours.

XLIX.

Many ill Matters and Projects are undertaken; And Private
Sutes doe Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters
 5 are undertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt
 Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance.
 Some embrace *Sutes*, which never meane to deale effectually
 in them; But if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by
 some other meane, they will be content to winne a Thanke,
 10 or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Use, in the
 meane time, of the *Sutours* Hopes. Some take hold of *Sutes*,
 onely for an Occasion, to Crosse some other; Or to make an
 Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt
 [2P1] Pretext; without Care what become of the *Sute*, | when that
 15 Turne is served: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse,
 a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne. Nay, some
 undertake *Sutes*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the
 end, to gratifie the Adverse Partie, or Competitour. Surely,
 there is, in some sort, a Right in every *Sute*: Either a Right of
 20 Equity, if it be a *Sute* of Controversie; Or a Right of Desert,
 if it be a *Sute* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to favour
 the Wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance,
 to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection
 lead a Man, to favour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe
 25 it without Depraving or Disabling the Better Deserver.

1 Of Sutours.] Of Sutes. 97a (Suturs in table, Suturs in running headline);
 essay not in H67

2 XLIX.] 5. C, H62, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c; 15. H51;

31. 12b, 13a-24

3-6 Many . . . Mindes] at end of essay 'Of followers and

friendes' L

3-4 Matters . . . Good] matters are undertaken Σ, 97a-24

4-5 Many . . . undertaken] and many good matters Σ, 97a-24

5 Bad] ill

Σ, 97a-24

5-6 I . . . Performance.] not in Σ, 97a-24

8 see,]

see that L

9 meane] means T

10-11 or . . . Hopes.] not in Σ,

97a-12a, 12c, H51

11 Hopes] hope 13a-24

12 for] to take T

other] others C

13 have] have an H62, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c, H51

14 Pretext] precept T, 97a

Care] care of C

become] becomes H62, L, T

15-16 Or . . . owne.] not in Σ, 97a-24

19 some sort] sorte Σ, 97a-14;

a sort 24

21 a Man] the L; thee H62, T

22 Wrong Side] wronge

H62, L, T

let him rather] rather let him C

his] thy L

24-5 doe it]

doe C

25 Depraving or Disabling] dissablinge or depraveinge L

Deserver] deservinge H62

In *Sutes*, which a man doth not well understand, it is good to referre them, to some Frend of Trust and Judgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Sutours* are so distasted with Delayses, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale | in *Sutes* at first, and Reporting the Successe barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserved, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Sutes* of Favour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise have beene had, but by him, Advantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discoverie. To be Ignorant of the value of a *Sute*, is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecie in *Sutes*, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of *Sutours*; But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the *Sute*, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, ra-|ther choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a Deniall, is somtimes Equall to the first Grant; If a Man shew himselfe, neither dejected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras*; is a good

26 In *Sutes*, which] In *Sutes* 97a-24; The suites H62; In suites yf T doth not well] doth not C; doth well 12b(u)
 Frend] freinde of his C
 28-30 But . . . Nose.] not in Σ, 97a-24
 T; so distracted with H62
 in L
 33 hath] had 13c, 24
 but little C
 37-8 by him, Advantage] by advantage H62; by him that then advantage L
 38 bee not taken] be taken H62, L, T
 Meanes;] not in Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51
 not in Σ, 97a-24
 Awake] and quicken L
 Sutes H62, L, T, 97a-24; suites C
 . . . Favour.] not in Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51
 means 24
 27 to some] unto some T
 28 whether] whither C
 30 so distasted with] so wth
 32 Reporting] in reportinge L
 34 also] even L
 36 Intelligence] the intelligence L
 38-9 but . . .
 39-40 and, . . . Discoverie.]
 44 *Sutours*] suites L
 45 Timing] ti-|mage 12b(u)
 47 which] that L
 48-57 Let
 49 Greatest Meane] greatest

Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise,
 55 a man were better rise in his *Sute*; For he that would have
 ventured at first to have lost the *Sutour*, will not in the
 Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne former Favour.
 Nothing is thought so Easie a Request, to a great Person, as
 his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so
 60 much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments,
 then these Generall Contrivers of *Sutes*: For they are but
 a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings. |

55 rise] rest 12b(u) 58 so] more H62 Person] man C as]
 then H62 59 if . . . Good] not in an ill C 60-2 There . . .
 Proceedings.] not in Σ , 97a-24

Emendation of Accidentals. 33 more] 25 (*second-state corr.*); mero 25(u)
 grown] 25 (*second-state corr.*); grwon 25(u) 39 Meanes;] 25 (*second-*
state corr.); ~^ 25(u) 47 grant] 25 (*first-state corr.*); graunt 25(u)
 47 those,] 25 (*second-state corr.*); those^ 25(u) 48 choose] 25 (*first-*
state corr.); chuse 25(u)

[2P2^v]

Of Studies.

L.

Studies serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability.
 Their Chiefe Use for Delight, is in Privatenesse and Retiring;
 5 For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the
 Judgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can
 Execute, and perhaps Judge of particulars, one by one; But
 the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of
 Affaires, come best from those that are *Learned*. To spend
 10 too much Time in *Studies*, is Sloth; To use them too much
 for Ornament, is Affectation; To make Judgement wholly by

1 Of Studies.] essay not in H67 2 L.] 1. C, H62, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c;
 11. H51; 29. 12b, 13a-24 3 serve] serves T Delight] pastimes C, T,
 97a-12a, 12c, H51; pastime H62, L Ornament] ornaments C, H62, T, 97a-
 12a, 12c, H51 and] om. C Ability] abilities Σ , 97a-12a, 12c, H51
 4 Delight] pastime H62, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c, H51; pastimes C Retiring] in
 retiringe T 5 Ornament] ornaments C is in] in C, L Ability, is]
 ability C 5-6 the . . . Businesse.] judgement. Σ , 97a-24
 7-9 Execute, and . . . *Learned*.] execute, but learned men are fittest to judge or
 censure. H62, L, T, 97a-24; execute, but learned are men more fit to Judge, and
 censure: C 10 *Studies*] them Σ , 97a-24 11 To] and to L

their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature,
 and are perfected by Experience: For Naturall Abilities, are
 like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by *Study*: | And [2P3]
Studies themselves, doe give forth Directions too much at 15
 Large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men
 Contemne *Studies*; Simple Men Admire them; and Wise Men
 Use them: For they teach not their owne Use; But that is
 a Wisdome without them, and above them, won by Observa-
 tion. Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; Nor to Beleewe 20
 and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse;
 But to weigh and Consider. Some *Bookes* are to be Tasted,
 Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and
 Digested: That is, some *Bookes* are to be read onely in Parts;
 Others to be read but not Cūriously; And some Few to be 25
 read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Bookes*
 also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by
 Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important
 Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of *Bookes*: else distilled
Bookes, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy Things. 30
 Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference a Rea-|dy Man; And [2P3^v]
 Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little,
 he had need have a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he
 had need have a Present Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had
 need have much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth 35
 not. *Histories* make Men Wise; *Poets* Witty; The *Mathematicks*
 Subtill; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe; *Morall* Grave; *Logick* and
Rhetorick Able to Contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores*. Nay

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 12 Humour] honor T | 13 are] are themselves C | 13-16 For |
| ... experience.] <i>not in</i> Σ, 97a-24 | 17 Contemne <i>Studies</i>] contemne | |
| them Σ, 97b-24; continue them 97a | Simple Men Admire] wise men use C | |
| and Wise] wise C, H62, T, 97a | 17-18 Wise Men Use] simple men | |
| admire C | 18 that is] that there is C, L; that wch is H62 | 20 and |
| Confute] <i>not in</i> Σ, 97a-24 | 21 and ... Discourse] <i>not in</i> Σ, 97a-24 | |
| 24 Digested] digested Σ, 97a-12a, 12c | some <i>Bookes</i>] some C | 25 Others] |
| other 12b, 13a, 14 | but not Cūriously] but cursorily H62, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c; | |
| but curiously C | 26 wholly, and] wholly C; whole and L, T | |
| 26-30 Some ... Things.] <i>not in</i> Σ, 97a-24 | 31 Ready Man] ready C | |
| 32 And therefore] therefore C | If ... Write] he that wryteth L; if he write | |
| H62, T | 33 have] of C, L | 33-4 he had need have] he had neede |
| of C, L; have 97b-12a, 12c | 34 And if] if H62 | 35 that] that |
| w ^{ch} L | 36 not] not knowe C | make] makes H62 |
| 37 <i>Logick</i>] <i>Logickes</i> 13c, 24 | 38 <i>Abeunt</i>] <i>Ab-eunt</i> 12b; <i>Ab eunt</i> 13a; | The] and the L |
| <i>Ab eunt</i> 13b, 13c | 38-51 <i>Abeunt</i> ... Receit.] <i>not in</i> Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51 | |

there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be
 40 wrought out by Fit *Studies*: Like as Diseases of the Body,
 may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the
 Stone and Reines; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle
 Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the
 like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the
 45 *Mathematicks*; For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called
 away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not
 Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the
Schoole-men; For they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not |
 [2P4] Apt to beat over Matters, and to call up one Thing, to Prove
 50 and Illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases*: So
 every Defect of the Minde, may have a Speciall Receit. |

47 differences] 25 (*second-state* corr.); difference 25(u)

40 wrought] brought 13c, 24	41 may have] may be 13a-24
42 Lungs] longs 12b	45-6 For . . . again:] not in 12b, 13a-24
47 differences] difference 12b, 13a-24, 25(u)	48 For . . . sectores.]
not in 12b, 13a-24 he] it 12b, 13a-24	49-50 call . . . another]
find out resemblances 12b, 13a-24	50 the <i>Lawyers</i>] <i>Lawyers</i> 12b,
13a-24	51 may have] have 13c, 24 a Speciall] speciall 13a-24

Emendation of Accidentals. 45 *Mathematicks*;) 25 (*first-state* corr.); ~,
 25(u) 46 again:] 25 (*second-state* corr.); ~; 25(u) 50 *Cases*:]
 25 (*second-state* corr.); ~; 25(u)

[2P4^v]

Of Faction.

LI.

Many have an Opinion not wise; That for a Prince to Gouverne
 his Estate; Or for a Great Person to governe his Proceedings,
 5 according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principall Part of
 Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiefest Wisdome is, either
 in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein
 Men of Severall *Factions* doe neverthelesse agree; Or in dealing

1 Of Faction.] Of Factions. H62	2 LI.] 9. C, H62, H67, L, T, 97a-
12a, 12c; 20. H51; 34. 12b, 13a-24	3 an . . . wise] a new wisdome,
indeed, a fond opinion 97a-12a, 12c; a new wisdome, otherwise called a fond	4 Estate]
opinion Σ a Prince] a Prince, (<i>deleted</i>) a Prince H62	5 Respect] respects T,
estates T for a] a L Person] man H67	7 and wherein] wherin L
97a-12a, 12c, H51 a] the Σ, 97a-24	

with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one.
 But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions*, is to be 10
 Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere; But
 Great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to
 maintaine themselves Indifferent, and | Neutrall. Yet even in [2Q1]
 beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the
 one *Faction*, which is most Passable with the other, commonly 15
 giveth best Way. The Lower and Weaker *Faction*, is the firmer
 in Conjunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are
 Stiffe, doe tire out, a greater Number, that are more Moderate.
 When One of the *Factions* is Extinguished, the Remaining
 Subdivideth: As the *Faction*, betweene *Lucullus*, and the 20
 Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*)
 held out a while, against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*:
 But when the Senates Authority was pulled Downe, *Cæsar*
 and *Pompey* soone after brake. The *Faction* or Partie of
Antonius, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, 25
 held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius*
 were overthrowne, then soone after *Antonius* and *Octavianus*
 brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Warres, but the
 same holdeth in Private *Factions*. And therefore, those that
 are Seconds in *Fa-|ctions*, doe many times, when the *Faction* [2Q1^v]
 Subdivideth, prove Principals: But many times also, they 31
 prove Ciphars and Casheer'd: For many a Mans Strength is
 in opposition; And when that faileth, he groweth out of use.
 It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed, take in with the
 Contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter; Thinking 35
 belike that they have the First Sure; And now are Readie for

9 Correspondence . . . Persons] correspondent persons C Correspondence]
 correspondencie H67 10 But] but yet L *Factions*] faction T;
 Faction 24 11 Meane Men, . . . Rising] Meane men Σ, 97a-24
 adhere] adhere soe moderatlye H62, H67 (from line 14) 12-13 in . . .
 themselves] in them selves T 12 were better to] must H62, H67
 13 Neutrall] neutralls H62, H67; naturall 12c 13-14 even in beginners]
 ever in beginners T; ever in beginnigne H62, H67, L 14-15 the one]
 thone H62; one H67 15 most Passable] passablest Σ, 97a-24
 16 giveth] gentle H62; gently is the H67 Way] a waie T Weaker] weake
 H67 firmer] former H62 17 Conjunction] condition C 17-18 And
 . . . Moderate.] not in Σ, 97a-24 19 When] where H62; and when L
 20-33 As . . . use.] which is good for a second Faction. 97a; which is good for
 a second. Σ, 97b-24 34 commonly seene] comonly H67 with] parte
 wth H67 35 Contrary *Faction*] contrarie H67 35-7 Thinking
 . . . Purchase.] not in Σ, 97a-24

a New Purchase. The Traitour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; For when Matters have stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all
 40 the Thankes. The Even Carriage betweene two *Factions*, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Mans Selfe, with End to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their Mouth, *Padre commune*: And take it, to be
 45 a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware, how they Side
 [2Q2] themselves, | and make themselves as of a *Faction* or Partie: For Leagues, within the State, are ever Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to
 50 Obligation of Soveraigntie, and make the King, *Tanquàm unus ex nobis*: As was to be seene, in the *League of France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Prejudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse. The Motions of
 55 *Factions*, under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may have their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile*. |

37 <i>Faction</i>] <i>Factions</i> Σ , 97a-24	38 Matters] matter H62
Ballancing] ballaunce H62	the] the the H62
Joyning H67	some one] one H62, H67, L, T
L	39-40 all the] the L
12a, 12c, H51	41 of Moderation] to moderation 13b-13c, 24
nesse to] trueness of 13b-13c, 24	43 suspect] suspicion 13c, 24
44 to be] to 12b-24	46-58 Kings . . . <i>Mobile</i> .] not in Σ , 97a-24

Of Ceremonies
and Respects.
LII.

[2Q2^v]

He that is only Reall, had need have Exceeding great Parts of
Vertue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without 5
Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Com-
mendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the
Proverbe is true, *That light Gaines make heavy Purses*; For
light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and
then. So it is true, that Small Matters win great Commendation, 10
because they are continually in Use, and in note: whereas the
Occasion of any great Vertue, commeth but on Festivals.
Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as
Queene *Isabella* said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*,
to have good *Formes*. | To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, [2Q3]
not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in 16
Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he
Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace;
Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Mens Behaviour,
is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is Measured: How can 20
a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde

1-2 Of Ceremonies and Respects.] *essay not in H67* 2 and Respects]
and Respect 13a-13c, 24; or respects L 3 LII.] 3. C, L, H62, 97a-12a,
12c; 10. H51; 30. 12b-24 4 had need have] needeth C; had need of
H62, L, T Exceeding great Parts] exceedinge good partes T; exceedinge
partes H62; excellent parts L 5 Vertue] a vertue (a *deleted*) C need
to be] neede bee 97a-12a, 12c Rich] exceedinge riche C 6 if ...
well] commonly C, H62, T, 97a-24; for the most part L 6-7 and ...
Men] *not in* Σ, 97a-24 7 Gettings and Gaines] gaines, makes H62;
gaine Σ, 97a-24 7-10 For ... is] For as ... is 12b (H51), 13a-24; For
as ... is as C, L, T, 97a-12a, 12c; for as ... as H62 8 Gaines make]
gaine makes T 8-9 For light Gaines] Because they Σ, 97a-24
9 Great] the greates C 9-10 now and then] seldome L 10 win]
winne, as L; winne, as H62, T Commendation] commendacions H62, T
11 of] of shewing L 12 Festivals] holy-daies Σ, 97a-24
13-15 Therefore ... *Formes*.] *not in* Σ, 97a-24 15 them, it almost]
good formes, it C, 97a-24; good turnes, it H62, L, T (tornes) 17 let
him] lett himselfe T 18 Labour too much] care C, L, T, 97a-24;
care not H62 lose] leese H62, 97a-12a, 12c, H51; loose C, 13b
19 is to be] is T 21 a man] any man L comprehend]
observe C

too much to small Observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach Others not to use them againe; And so diminisheth *Respect* to himselfe: Especially they be not
 25 to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, and Exalting them above the Moone, is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conveying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst
 30 Complements, which is of Singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; [2Q3^v] And therefore, it is good a | little to keepe State. Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too
 35 much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of Sacietie, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon Regard, And not upon Facilitie. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it
 40 be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficient
 45 otherwise, their Enviars will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too

22 to small] in small matters (matters *deleted*) C; in small L Observations] observation 12b, 13a-24 23 Others not] others how H62 (how *deleted* and not *interlined*) them againe] them H62 24 diminisheth . . . himselfe] diminisheth respect 12b (H51), 13a-24; diminish his respect C, H62, 97a-12a, 12c; diminisheth his respect T; is his respect demynished L Especially] especial 14 be] are C, L 25 omitted] admitted T Formall] strange Σ, 97a-12a, 12c Natures] natures *reworked* to natures H62 25-31 But . . . it.] not in Σ, 97a-24 31 Peeres] equals C, L; H62 *interlines* peires over *deletion* a Man] he L 32 good a little] a good title 97a-12a, 12c (corr. to lemma in *Trinity-Malone* copy of 97b) 33 one] a man C, L 34 a little to be] to be a litle L 34-6 He . . . cheape.] not in T 35 giveth] give H62, 97a-12a, 12c 36 maketh] makes H62 Ones] his C 37 is] it is L it be with] that it be worth L 38 it] is H62 39 generally] gennerall T yet to adde] to add also L 40 Ones] his C As if] if C; or yf L you will] you C; he will H62 43 further] farther C; some further L 43-51 Men . . . findes.] not in Σ, 97a-12a, 12c, H51 46 Vertues] vertue 12b, 13a-24

Curious in Observing Times and Opportunities. *Salomon* saith; *He that considereth the wind, shall not | Sow, and he that* [2Q4]
looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape. A wise Man will make 50
 more Opportunities then he findes. Mens Behaviour should
 be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Device, but
 Free for Exercise or Motion. |

51-3 Mens . . . Motion.] *not in Σ, 97a-24*

Of Praise.

[2Q4^v]

LIII.

Praise is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or
 Bodie, which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common
 People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth 5
 Vaine Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People
 understand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues
 draw *Praise* from them; The middle Vertues worke in them
 Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues,
 they have no Sense, or Perceiving at all. But Shewes, and 10
Species virtutibus similes, serve best with them. Certainly,
 Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things Light and
 Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if
 persons of Qualitie and Judgement concurre, then it is, (as
 the | Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*. [2R1]
 It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the 16
 Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of
 Flowers. There be so many False Points of *Praise*, that
 a Man may justly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed
 meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he 20
 will have certaine Common Attributes, which may serve
 every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the
 Arch-Flatterer, which is a Mans selfe; and wherein a Man
 thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will uphold

1 Of Praise.] *essay not in 97a-12a*

2 LIII.] 29. H51; 35. 12b, 13a-

24; 26. 12c

3 as] *interlined in H51 by Hand A*

4 Bodie] *bodie*

is 12b (H51)-24

the Reflection] *reflection 13c, 24*

9 of] *interlined*

in H51 by Hand A

13 Drownes] *drowne 13a-24*

17 Odours]

odor 12b(u)

19 it a] *it 12b (H51)-24*

proceed] *proceeds 12b-24*

25 him most: But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look wherein
 a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defective, and
 is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer
 Entitle him to, perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ*. Some Praises
 come of good Wishes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in
 30 Civilitie to Kings, and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere*;
 When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them,
 [2R1V] what | they should be. Some Men are *Praised* Maliciously to
 their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Jealousie towards them;
Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium; In so much as it
 35 was a Proverb, amongst the *Grecians*; that, *He that was*
praised to his Hurt, should have a Push rise upon his Nose: As
 we say; *That a Blister will rise upon ones Tongue, that tells*
a lye. Certainly Moderate *Praise*, used with Opportunity, and
 not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. *Salomon* saith, *He*
 40 *that praiseth his Frend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him,*
no better then a Curse. Too much Magnifying of Man or
 Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envie
 and Scorne. To *Praise* a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent,
 except it be in rare Cases: But to *Praise* a Mans Office or
 45 Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with
 a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*, which are
 Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, have a Phrase of
 Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Civill Businesse: For
 [2R2] they call all Temporall Busi-nesse, of Warres, Embassages,
 50 Judicature, and other Emploiments, *Sbirrerie*; which is,
Under-Sheriffries; As if they were but matters for Under-
 Sheriffes and Catchpoles; Though many times, those *Under-*
sherifferies doe more good, then their High Speculations.
St. Paul, when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace;
 55 *I speake like a Foole*; But speaking of his Calling, he saith;
Magnificabo Apostolatum meum. |

37 tells] tell's 25

25 Flatterer] flatter 12c

26 Conscious] conscient 12b (H51)-24

34-8 In . . . lye.] not in 12b (H51)-24

39 Vulgar,] vulgar, but appropriate

12b (H51)-24

42 irritate] itterate 12c

43-56 To . . . meum.]

not in 12b (H51)-24

Emendation of Accidentals. 37 upon] 25 (first-state corr.); upou 25(u)
 50 Sbirrerie;] 25 (first-state corr.); Sbirrery, 25(u) 51-2 Under-Sheriffes]

~~~ 25

52-3 Under-sherifferies] Undersheriffe-ries 25

54 enterlace] 25 (second-state corr.); Enterlace 25(u)



## Of Vaine-Glory.

[2R2<sup>v</sup>]

## LIII.

It was prettily Devised of *Æsop*; *The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise?* So are there some *Vaine Persons*, that whatsoever 5  
 goeth alone, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factious*; For all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they 10  
 be *Secret*, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the *French Proverb*; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit*. Yet certainly there is Use of this Qualitie, in Civill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, | and Fame to be [2R3]  
 created, either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good 15  
 Trumpetters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth, in the Case of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*; *There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse Lies*; As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to joyne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, above 20  
 Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing*: For Lies are sufficient to 25  
 breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar Commanders and Soldiers, *Vaine-Glory* is an Essentiall Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprize, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures, doth put Life 30

1 Of Vaine-Glory.] essay not in 97a-H51

28. 12c

6 moveth] moves 12b-24

12b-24

12 Bruit] bruit and 12b-24

2 LIII.] 37. 12b, 13a-24;

6-7 Means, if . . . it,] meanes,

18-23 Negotiates . . .

Either.] should interpose himselfe to negotiate between two, should to either of them severally pretend, more interest then he hath in the other. 12b-24

24 these] this 12b-24

Kindes] kind 12b-24

26-9 In . . . another.]

not in 12b-24

29 In Cases of] But principally in cases of 12b-24 (cares

if 24)

30 a] such 12b-24

into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Na-  
 [2R3<sup>v</sup>] tures, have more of the Ballast, then of the Saile. In Fame  
 of Learning, the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers  
 of *Ostentation*. *Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt,*  
 35 *Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen,* were  
 Men full of *Ostentation*. Certainly *Vaine-Glory* helpeth  
 to Perpetuate a Mans Memory; And Vertue was never so  
 Beholding to Humane Nature, as it received his due at the  
 Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca,*  
 40 *Plinius Secundus,* borne her Age so well, if it had not been  
 joyned, with some *Vanity* in themselves: Like unto Varnish,  
 that makes Seelings not onely Shine, but Last. But all this  
 while, when I speake of *Vaine-Glory*, I meane not of that  
 Property, that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus; Omnium,*  
 45 *quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator:* For that  
 proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Naturall Magnanimity, and  
 discretion: And in some Persons, is not onely Comely, but  
 Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it selfe well  
 [2R4] Governed, are but Arts of | *Ostentation*. And amongst those  
 50 Arts, there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus*  
 speaketh of; which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commenda-  
 tion to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any  
 Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very Wittily; *In commending*  
*Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend,*  
 55 *is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inferiour.*  
*If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much*  
*more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you*  
*much lesse. Glorious Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the*  
*Admiration of Fooles; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves*  
 60 *of their own Vaunts. |*

32-6 In . . . *Ostentation.*] not in 12b-24

12c; *fecerat quæ* 13a-13c, 14

51-2 Commendation] commendations 13c, 24

Vaunts.] not in 12b-24

45 *feceratque*] *seceratque*

46 of Naturall] of a natural 12b-24

58-60 *Glorious* . . .

*Emendation of Accidentals.* 48 selfe] 25 (*second-state corr.*); ~, 25(u)

Of Honour and  
Reputation.  
LV.

[2R4<sup>v</sup>]

The Winning of *Honour*, is but the Revealing of a Mans Vertue  
and Worth, without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions, 5  
doe Wooe and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation*: Which Sort of  
Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little  
Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the  
Shew of it; So as they be under-valued in opinion. If a Man  
performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or 10  
attempted and given over; Or hath beene atchieved, but not  
with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more *Honour*,  
then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue,  
wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper | his Actions, [2S1]  
as in some one of them, hee doth content everie Faction, or 15  
Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller.  
A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any  
Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then  
the Carying of it through can *Honor* him. *Honour*, that is  
gained and broken upon Another, hath the quickest Reflection; 20  
Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man  
contend, to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Out-  
shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet

19 of it] 25 (*first-state corr.*); it of 25(u)

1-2 Of Honour and Reputation.] *essay not in H67, 12b* 3 LV.] 8. C,  
L, H62, T, 97a-12a, 12c; 21. H51; 39. (*misnumbered 41.*) 13a-24 4 Win-  
ning] true Wynning H51 Honour] honours T 5 Worth] word 13c, 24  
6 Wooe and affect] affect Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24 7 commonly much]  
much C 8 some, contrariwise] some^ Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24 9 as]  
that C be] are L 10 hath not beene] he hath L 10-11 Or  
attempted] *not in L* 12 so] a H62 13 Effecting] affectinge  
H62, L, 13b-24 greater] more H62, L, T Difficulty, or Vertue] difficulty  
C 14 Follower.] Follower. If a Man consider wherein others have given  
distant, and wyne honor upon their envye, the beame will be the quicker. H51  
temper] tong L 15 some one] some C doth] doe C, 97a-H51, 12c-  
24 15-16 or . . . People] *not in C* 16 People] the people  
24 19 the Carying] carriege T of it] it C; of L can] cold L  
19-23 Honour, . . . Bowe.] *not in Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24*

Followers and Servants helpe much to *Reputation: Omnis*  
 25 *Fama à Domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of  
*Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a Mans Selfe, in  
 his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing  
 a Mans Successes, rather to divine Providence and Felicity,  
 then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of  
 30 the Degrees of *Sovereigne Honour* are these. In the First  
 [2S1<sup>V</sup>] Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of | States*, and  
*Common-Wealths*: Such as were *Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar,*  
*Ottoman, Ismael.* In the Second Place are *Legis-latores,*  
*Law-givers*; which are also called, *Second Founders*, or  
 35 *Perpetui Principes*, because they Governe by their Ordinances,  
 after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian,*  
*Eadgar, Alphonsus* of *Castile*, the Wise, that made the *Siete*  
*Partidas.* In the Third Place, are *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores*:  
 Such as compound the long Miseries of Civill Warres, or  
 40 deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants;  
 As *Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus,*  
*K. Henry the 7. of England, K. Henry the 4. of France.* In  
 the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperii*;  
 Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or  
 45 make Noble defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place,  
 are *Patres Patriæ*; which reigne justly, and make the Times  
 good, wherein they live. Both which last Kindes, need no

24 Followers and Servants] followers Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24 24-5 Omnis  
 . . . emanat.] not in Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24 25 Envy] And envy L  
 26 extinguished, by] distinguished in H62; distinguished by T, 13b-13c, 24  
 Mans] man H62 28 Successes] successe C, T divine Providence]  
 providence Σ Felicity] to felicitye H62 29 his owne] his L, T,  
 97a-H51, 12c-24 or] and C, H62, L 30 the First] first L, T 31 Place  
 are] place C *Conditores Imperiorum*] *Conditores* Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24  
 (*Conditories* 13b, 13c, 24) 31-3 and . . . *Ismael.*] not in Σ, 97a-H51,  
 12c-24 33 Place are] place T *Legis-latores*] *Legislatores* Σ, 97a-  
 H51, 12c-13b, 14; *Legi-slatores* 13c, 24 34 which . . . called] w<sup>ch</sup> are  
 T 35 Ordinances] ordinance H62 36-8 Such . . . *Partidas.*]  
 not in Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24 38 *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores*] *Liberatores*  
 Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24 40 Countries] countrie C, H62 Servitude] the  
 servitude C 41-2 As . . . *France.*] not in Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24  
 43 *Propagatores*] *prepagatores* L *Propugnatores Imperii*] *propugnatores*  
*imperit* 06; *propugnato-res imperit* 12a, 12c; *propugnato-res imperii* 13a;  
*propugnato-res imperii* 13b-13c; *propugnati-res imperii* 24 44 Territories]  
 territory L 45 against] against the C 46 justly] lastly 24  
 make] makes corr. to lemma by Hand A in H51 47-8 Both . . . Number.]  
 not in Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24

Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of *Honour* in *Subjects* are; First, *Par-ticipes Curarum*; Those upon whom [2S2] Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires; 50 Their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The Next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders*; Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Services in the Warres. The Third are, *Gratiosi*; *Favourites*; Such as exceed not this Scantling; To be Solace to the Sovereigne, and Harmeslesse to the People. And the 55 Fourth, *Negotiis pares*; Such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of their *Country*: 60 As was *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decii*. |

48 of] in H62 in] amongst H62 49 are] are these H62  
 52 Princes Lieutenants,] Princes, Lieutenants 97a 53 Services] service  
 C 54 be] be a 24 55 the] their C 56 Fourth,] 4<sup>th</sup> are  
 called C; forth are L *Negotiis*] *Negotii* 13a-24 *pares*] *paces* T Places]  
 place 97a-H51, 12c-24 under] among L 57 execute] doe execute  
 H51 57-61 There . . . *Decii*.] not in Σ, 97a-H51, 12c-24

*Emendation of Accidentals.* 22-3 Out-shooting] ~-~ 25 24 Reputation:]  
 25 (second-state corr.); ~. 25(u) 34 Law-givers] Law-|givers 25  
 59-60 themselves] them-|selves 25

## Of Judicature.

[2S2<sup>v</sup>]

## LVI.

*Judges* ought to remember, that their Office is *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*; To *Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Give Law*. Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the 5 *Church* of *Rome*; which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by *Shew* of *Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noveltie*. *Judges* ought to be more Learned, then Wittie; More Reverend, then Plausible; And 10 more Advised, then Confident. Above all Things, Integrity is

1 Of Judicature.] essay not in 97a-H51 2 LVI.] 36. 12b, 13a-13c,  
 14; misnumbered 37. 24; 27. 12c 5 Authority, claimed by] presumption  
 of 12b-24 7 doth not sticke] usurpeth and practiseth an authority  
 12b-24 8 Shew] colour 12b-24



their Portion, and Proper Vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that removeth the Land-marke*. The Mislai-er of a *Meere* |  
 [2S3] *Stone* is to blame. But it is the Unjust *Judge*, that is the  
 15 Capitall Remover of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse  
 of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more  
 Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt  
 the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith  
*Salomon; Fons turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Justus cadens*  
 20 *in causâ suâ coram Adversario*. The Office of *Judges*, may  
 have Reference, Unto the *Parties that sue*; Unto the *Advocates*  
*that Plead*; Unto the *Clerkes* and *Ministers of Justice* under-  
 neath them; And to the *Soveraigne* or *State* above them.

First, for the *Causes* or *Parties that Sue*. *There be* (saith  
 25 the Scripture) *that turne Judgement into Worme-wood*; And  
 surely, there be also, that turne it into *Vinegar*; for Injustice  
 maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure. The Principall  
 Dutie of a *Judge*, is to suppress Force and Fraud; whereof  
 Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud,  
 [2S3<sup>v</sup>] when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Con-|tentious  
 31 Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts.  
 A *Judge* ought to prepare his Way to a Just Sentence, as  
*God* useth to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys*, and  
*Taking downe Hills*: So when there appeareth on either side,  
 35 an High Hand; Violent Prosecution, Cunning Advantages  
 taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the  
 Vertue of a *Judge* seene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he  
 may plant his *Judgement*, as upon an Even Ground. *Qui*  
*fortitèr emungit, elicit sanguinem*; And where the Wine-Press  
 40 is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the  
 Grape-stone. *Judges* must beware of Hard Constructions,  
 and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then  
 the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall,  
 they ought to have Care, that that which was meant for  
 45 Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring  
 not upon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture  
 speaketh; *Pluet super eos Laqueos*: For Penall Lawes Pressed,

17 these] they 12b-24  
 24 First, . . . Sue.] not in 12b-24  
 the more . . . the more 12b-24  
 42 Strained] stained 13a-24

18 Fountaine] Fountains 13c, 24  
 29-30 when it is . . . when it is]  
 35 Cunning] running 12b(u)  
 Worse Torture] worse to turne 24

are a | *Shower of Snares* upon the People. Therefore, let [2S4]  
*Penall Lawes*, if they have beene Sleepers of long, or if they  
 be growne unfit for the present Time, be by Wise Judges 50  
 confined in the Execution; *Judicis Officium est, ut Res, ita*  
*Tempora Rerum*, &c. In *Causes* of Life and Death; Judges  
 ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember  
 Mercy; And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, but  
 a Mercifull Eye upon the Person. 55

Secondly, for the *Advocates* and *Counsell that Plead*:  
 Patience and Gravitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of  
 Justice; And an Over-speaking *Judge* is no *well tuned Cymball*.  
 It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to finde that, which hee might  
 have heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse 60  
 of Conceit in Cutting off Evidence or Counsell too short; Or  
 to prevent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The  
 Parts of a *Judge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Evidence;  
 To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech;  
 To Recapi-|tulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of [2S4v]  
 that, which hath beene said; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. 66  
 Whatsoever is above these, is too much; And proceedeth,  
 Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience  
 to Heare; Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid  
 and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the 70  
 Boldnesse of *Advocates*, should prevaile with *Judges*; Whereas  
 they should imitate *God*, in whose Seat they sit; who *represseth*  
*the Presumptuous*, and *giveth Grace to the Modest*. But it is  
 more Strange, that *Judges* should have Noted Favourites;  
 Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion 75  
 of By-waies. There is due from the *Judge*, to the *Advocate*,  
 some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well  
 Handled, and faire Plead; Especially towards the Side  
 which obtaineth not; For that upholds, in the *Client*, the  
 Reputation of his *Counsell*, and beats downe, in him, the 80  
 Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publique*,  
 a | Civill Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth [2T1]

48-52 Therefore, . . . &c.] *not in 12b-24* 53 (as farre as . . .  
 permitteth)] as farre (as . . . permitteth) 12b-24 56 Secondly, . . .  
 Plead:] *not in 12b-24* 59 to a] unto a 12c 61 Evidence or  
 Counsell] counsell or evidence 12b-13b, 14; counsell or evidences 13c, 24  
 63 *Judge* in Hearing] *Judge 12b-24* 66 or] and 13c, 24 74 *Judges*  
 should] the custome of the time doth warrant *Judges* to 12b-24

Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the  
 85 *Counsell* at the Barre, chop with the *Judge*, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* halfe Way; Nor give Occasion to the Partie to say; *His Counsell or Proofes were*  
 90 *not heard.*

Thirdly, for that that concernes *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Justice*, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and  
 95 Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the *Scripture* saith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles*: Neither can *Justice* yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling *Clerkes* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Foure bad Instru-  
 [2T1<sup>v</sup>] ments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits;  
 101 which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarells of Jurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curiae*, but *Parasiti Curiae*; in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their  
 105 owne Scraps, and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they pervert the Plaine and Direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring *Justice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths.  
 110 And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which justifies the Common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Justice*, to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in  
 115 Proceeding, and Understanding in the *Businesse* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*; And doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himselfe. |

84-90 And . . . heard.] not in 12b-24

not in 12b-24

93 Foot-pace] foot-place 13c, 24

chatching 12b (ink corr. to lemma in 9 of 15 copies)

13b, 13c

13a-24

108 Courses] course 13c, 24

117 to] unto 12c; of 13c, 24

91 Thirdly, . . . Ministers.]

98 Catching]

106 Left] lefts

113 loose] lose 12b,

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the *Sovereigne* and [2T2]  
*Estate. Judges* ought above all to remember the Conclusion  
of the *Roman Twelve Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; And 120  
to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End,  
are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired.  
Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and  
*States* doe often Consult with *Judges*; And againe, when  
*Judges* doe often Consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, 125  
when there is Matter of Law, intervenient in Businesse of  
State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State,  
intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things  
Deduced to *Judgement*, may bee *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the  
Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point 130  
of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of  
*Soveraigntie*, but whatsoever introduceth any Great Altera-  
tion, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth ma[nifestly any [2T2<sup>v</sup>]  
great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive,  
that Just Laws, and True Policie, have any *Antipathie*: For 135  
they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes, that One moves with  
the Other. Let *Judges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*,  
was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions,  
but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect, that they  
doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soveraigntie*. Let 140  
not *Judges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to  
thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their  
Office, a Wise Use, and application of Lawes. For they may  
remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law*, then  
theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eâ utatur* 145  
*Legitimè*. |

118-19 Fourthly, . . . *Estate*.] Lastly, 12b-24 128 Things] thing  
12b-24 136 with] within 12b-24 137-40 Let . . . *Soveraigntie*.]  
not in 12b-24 140-1 Let not] Neither ought 12b-24 141 also,  
be] to be 12b-24 145 modò quis] modo quia 13a-13b, 14; Inde quia  
13c, 24

*Emendation of Accidentals.* 41 Grape-stone] Grape-stone 25



[2T3]

## Of Anger.

## LVII.

To seeke to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a Bravery of the *Stoickes*. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not.*  
 5 *Let not the Sunne goe downe upon your Anger.* *Anger* must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, *To be Angry*, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of *Anger*, may be repressed, or at least  
 10 refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger*, in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminare well, upon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles  
 [2T3v] Mans Life. And the best Time, to doe | this, is, to looke  
 15 backe upon *Anger*, when the Fitt is throughly over. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us; *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soule*. Men must not turne *Bees*;

20

—*Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

*Anger* is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weaknesse of those Subjects, in whom it reignes: Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their *Anger*, rather with Scorne, then  
 25 with Feare: So that they may seeme rather, to be above the Injury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himselfe in it.

For the Second Point; The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Anger*, are chiefly three. First, to be too *Sensible* of *Hurt*: For no  
 30 Man is *Angry*, that *Feeles* not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft *Angry*: They |  
 [2T4] have so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension

17 falls] fall's 25

1 Of Anger.] essay not in 97a-24



and Construction, of the Injury offred, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of *Contempt*. For *Contempt* is that 35 which putteth an Edge upon *Anger*, as much, or more, then the *Hurt* it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*, they doe kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation*, doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the 40 Remedy is, that a Man should have, as *Consalvo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiozem*. But in all Refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleeve, that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to 45 still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserve it.

To containe *Anger* from *Mischiefe*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must have speciall Caution. The one, of extreme *Bitternesse of Words*; [2T4<sup>v</sup>] Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper: For *Communia* 50 *Maledicta* are nothing so much: And againe, that in *Anger*, a Man reveale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not *peremptorily breake off*, in any Businesse, in a *Fitt* of *Anger*: But howsoever you *shew* Bitternes, do not *Act* any thing, that is not Revocable. 55

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in Another; It is done chiefly, by *Choosing of Times*, when Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggravate the *Contempt*. And the two *Remedies* are by the *Contraries*. 60 The Former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man, an *Angry* Businesse: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury, from the Point of *Contempt*: Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will. | 65

|                                                                                |                                              |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Emendation of Accidentals.</i> 53 <i>breake</i> ] 25(u); <i>break</i> 25(c) |                                              | 54 <i>Fitt</i> ] |
| 25(c); <i>Fit</i> 25(u)                                                        | 57 <i>Times</i> , when] 25(c); ~. When 25(u) | 62 much;]        |
| 25(c); ~. 25(u)                                                                |                                              |                  |

[2V1]

Of Vicissitude  
of Things.  
LVIII.

*Salomon* saith; *There is no New Thing upon the Earth.* So  
 5 that as *Plato* had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Remembrance:* So *Salomon* giveth his Sentence; *That all Noveltie is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see, that the River of *Lethe*, runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith; *If it were not,*  
 10 *for two things, that are Constant; (The one is, that the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another, and never come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:)* No Individuall would last one Moment. Certain it is, that the  
 [2V1<sup>v</sup>] *Mat-|ter*, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and never at a Stay. The  
 16 great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earth-quakes*. As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they doe not meereley dispeople, and destroy. *Phaetons* Carre went but a day. And the *Three yeares Drought*,  
 20 in the time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left People Alive. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge*, and *Earth-quake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be reserved,  
 25 are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can give no Account, of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old  
 30 World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that  
 [2V2] hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earth-quakes*, | (As the *Ægyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*; *That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake*;) But rather, that it was desolated, by a Particular *Deluge*. For  
 35 *Earth-quakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other

side, they have such *Powring Rivers*, as the *Rivers of Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but *Brookes* to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or *Mountaines*, are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular *Deluge*, saved. As for the Observation, that *Macciavel* hath, that the *Jealousie* of *Sects*, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things; Traducing *Gregory the Great*, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great* | *Yeare*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestiall Bodies, have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below, then indeed they have) but in grosse. *Comets*, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect, over the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, then wisely observed in their Effects; Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say, it is observed, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that Every Five and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, | Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of Things amongst *Men*, is the *Vicissitude* of *Sects*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Mens Minds most. The True *Religion* is built upon the *Rocke*; The Rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speake therefore, of the *Causes* of New *Sects*; And to give some *Counsell*

concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Judgement, can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of *Religion* is  
 80 decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt the Springing up of a *New Sect*; If then also there should arise, any  
 [2V3V] Extravagant and Strange Spirit, | to make himselfe Authour thereof. All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published  
 85 his *Law*. If a *New Sect* have not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative*  
 90 *Heresies* (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they worke mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Helpe of Civill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of *New Sects*. By the Power of *Signes*  
 95 and *Miracles*: By the *Eloquence and Wisedome* of *Speech* and *Perswasion*: And by the *Sword*. For *Martyrdomes*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles*; Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holinesse* of *Life*. Surely, there  
 [2V4V] is no better Way, to stop the | Rising of *New Sects*, and  
 101 *Schismes*; then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the principall Authours, by Winning and Advancing them, then to enrage them by  
 105 Violence and Bitternesse.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Warres* are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *Warre*; In the *Weapons*; And in the *Manner* of the *Conduct*. *Warres* in ancient Time, seemed more to move from *East* to *West*:  
 110 For the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars*, (which were the Invaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the *Gaules* were Westerne; But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to *Gallo-Grecia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* have no certaine Points of Heaven: And no more have  
 115 the *Warres*, either from the *East*, or *West*, any Certainty of



Observation. But *North* and *South* are fixed: And it hath seldome or never been seene, that | the farre Southern People [2V4<sup>v</sup>] have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Tract* of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of 120 that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest. 125

Upon the *Breaking* and *Shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to have *Warres*. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives, which they have subdued, resting upon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to 130 ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire*; And likewise, in the *Empire* of *Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Fether; And were not un-|like to befall to *Spaine*, if it should break. The great [2X1] *Accessions* and *Unions* of *Kingdomes*, doe likewise stirre up 135 *Warres*. For when a State growes to an Over-power, it is like a great Floud, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seene, in the States of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spaine*, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest *Barbarous Peoples*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they 140 know meanes to live; (As it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of Inundations of People: But when there be *great Shoales* of *People*, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing Meanes of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge 145 a Portion of their People upon other Nations: Which the ancient *Northern People*, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a *Warre-like State* growes *Soft* and *Effeminate*, they may be sure of a *Warre*. For commonly | 150 such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; [2X1<sup>v</sup>] And so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a *Warre*.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation: yet we see, even they have *Returns* and *Vicissitudes*. 155



For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the Citty of the *Oxidrakes* in *India*; And was that, which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the use of *Ordnance* hath been in *China*,  
 160 above 2000. yeares. The Conditions of *Weapons*, and their Improvement are; First, The Fetching a farre off: For that outruns the Danger: As it is seene in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherein likewise *Ordnance* doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions.  
 165 The third is, the commodious use of them: As that they may serve in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

[2X2] For the *Conduct* of the *Warre*: At the | first, Men rested extremely upon *Number*: They did put the Warres likewise  
 170 upon *Maine Force*, and *Valour*; Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, upon an even Match: And they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battailes*. After, they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to *Advantages*, of *Place*, *Cunning*  
 175 *Diversions*, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the *Ordering* of their *Battailes*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Armes* doe flourish: In the *Middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning*; And then both of them together for a time: In the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanicall Arts*  
 180 and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile: Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust. But it is not good, to looke too  
 [2X2<sup>v</sup>] long, upon these turning Wheelles of *Vi-cissitude*, lest we  
 186 become Giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

*Emendation of Accidentals.* 64 years] 25(c); yeeres 25(u)      Years] 25(c);  
 Yeers 25(u)      134 break.] ~ [turned point] 25      173 After,]  
 ~ ^ 25

A  
FRAGMENT,  
OF AN  
ESSAY,  
OF  
FAME.  
[LIX.]

5

The *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monster*. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, gravely, and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* 10 she hath underneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a *flourish*: There follow excellent *Parables*; As, that she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the 15 day time, she sitteth in a *Watch Tower*, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terroure to great *Citties*: But that, which passeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War against *Jupiter*, and 20 were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth *Fame*: For certain it is, That *Rebels*, figured by the *Gyants*, and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers*, and *Sisters*; *Masculine*, and *Feminine*. But now, if a Man can tame this *Monster*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and 25 govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the stile of the *Poets*. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a *Place*, lesse handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of *Fame*. We will, 30 therefore, speak of these *points*. What are false *Fames*; And what are true *Fames*; And how they may be best discerned; How *Fames*, may be sown, and raised; How they may be spread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the *Nature* of 35

*Fame*. *Fame*, is of that force, as there is, scarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the War. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame*, that he scattered; That *Vitellius* had in purpose, to remove the *Legions* of *Syria*,  
 40 into *Germany*; And the *Legions* of *Germany*, into *Syria*: whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæsar*, took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed asleep his industry, and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out; How *Cæsars* own Souldiers loved him not; And being  
 45 wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him, as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia*, settled all things, for the Succession, of her Son *Tiberius*, by continuall giving out, that her husband *Augustus*, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing,  
 50 with the *Basshawes*, to conceale the Death of the great *Turk* from the *Jannizaries*, and men of War, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their Manner is. *Themistocles*, made *Zerxes*, King of *Persia* poast apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out, that the *Græcians*, had a purpose,  
 55 to break his *Bridge*, of Ships, which he had made athwart *Hellespont*. There be a thousand such like *Examples*; And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise *Governers*, have as great a watch, and care, over *Fames*,  
 60 as they have, of the *Actions*, and *Designes* themselves.

*The rest was not Finished.*

*Emendation of Accidentals.* 13 As, that] ~ ^ ~, *Resuscitatio*

## COMMENTARY

### I. 'Of Truth' (pp. 7-9)

3. **What is Truth:** John 18: 38.

5. **count . . . Beleefe:** i.e. the Sceptics, founded by Pyrrhon of Elis (c.360-c.270 BC), who asserted that the nature of things makes them unknowable, and his successors in the New Academy, who admitted only degrees of probability. See the critique in *Nov. Org.* iv. 69 (i. 178-9).

5-6. **Affecting . . . Acting:** Bacon links the ethical relativism of the Anabaptists of his time with the Sceptics in *De Aug.* v. 9 (i. 719).

7-8. **remaine . . . Wits:** Reynolds suggests Franciscus Sánchez, *Quod nihil scitur* (1576) and Montaigne (cited below, lines 74-6); see especially *Apology for Raymond Sebond*. But Bacon appears to be speaking of such contemporaries as Raleigh, Fulke Greville, and Robert Burton (see H. Baker, *The Wars of Truth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 144-54).

8-9. **veines . . . Blood:** a pun, rare in Bacon.

14. **One . . . Grecians:** Lucian (second century AD), *Philopseudes sive Incredulus*, 'The lover of lies, or the doubter' (Wright).

19. **Truth, . . . light:** cf. Tilley T561, 'As naked as Truth'.

20-1. **Masques, . . . Candlelights:** cf. XXXVII. 31-3.

31-2. **Vinum Dæmonum:** 'wine of demons'. Cf. *AL* iii. 440, 'Did not one of the fathers in great indignation call Poesy *vinum dæmonium*, because it increaseth temptations, perturbations, and vain opinions?' The phrase has not been traced to a particular Father, though Singer compares St Jerome, *Epist.* 146, 'Dæmonum cibus est carmina poetarum' [The song of the poets is the food of demons], and Markby compares St Augustine, *Conf.* i. 16, who speaks of the '*vinum erroris*' in Terence.

33. **shadow of a Lie:** Reynolds compares Plato, *Repub.* x, (602 C), 'this business of imitation is concerned with the third remove from truth' (Loeb).

36-42. **howsoever . . . Nature:** cf. *Ant. R.* 25, iv. 482 (i. 689), 'All depraved affections are but false estimations; and goodness and truth are the same thing'.

42-3. **first Creature . . . Sense:** Gen. 1: 2-5.

43-4. **last, . . . Reason:** Gen. 1: 26-7. Cf. 'The Writer's Prayer', vii. 259-60, 'Thou, O Father! who gavest the Visible Light as the first-born of thy Creatures, and didst pour into man the Intellectual Light as the top and consummation of thy workmanship, be pleased to protect and govern this work, which coming from thy Goodness returneth to thy Glory'; see also *Nov. Org.* iv. 33 (i. 145).

48-9. **Poet, . . . Sect:** Lucretius (c.94-55 BC) expounds the physical theories of the Epicureans in *De rerum natura*.

49. **otherwise inferiour**: i.e. inferior except for Lucretius' poem. Cf. XVI. 15-16.

50-7. **It . . . below**: paraphrase of *De rerum natura*, ii. 1-10; quoted with variants in *AL* iii. 317-18.

53-7. **no pleasure . . . vale below**: cf. *Ant. R.* 25, iv, 483 (i. 698); 'Pacification', x. 103.

58. **prospect, be with Pitty**: a trait of Bacon's ideal man of science; see *New Atlantis*, iii. 154; 'Redargutio Philosophiarum', iii. 559 (M. E. Prior, 'Bacon's Man of Science', *JHI* 15 [1954], 348-70); Marwil, p. 124, considers the figure a self-portrait.

59-61. **Heaven upon Earth . . . Poles of Truth**: the metaphor employs the Ptolemaic concept of the *primum mobile* or First Mover ('Charitie'), which carries the inferior planet ('Mans Minde') in an orbit round the earth ('Rest in Providence'), while the planet turns upon its axis ('Poles of Truth'). Cf. *Ant. R.* 25, iv, 483 (i. 698), 'How good a thing to have the motion of the mind concentric with the universe'.

63. **Truth of civill Businesse**: cf. *AL* iii. 445. In 38 (*Latin*) the lemma is sharper: 'Veritatem, aut potius veracitatem [truth, or rather truthfulness].'

68. **Goings of the Serpent**: Gen. 3: 13.

74-6. **man lieth, . . . men**: Montaigne, ii. 18 (2L<sup>1V</sup>):

To ly is a horrible-filthy vice; and which an auncient writer [Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lysander', 2S2<sup>V</sup>] setteth forth very shamefully, when he saith, that *whosoever lieth, witnesseth that he contemneth God, and therewithall feareth men*. It is impossible more richly to represent the horror, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: For, *What can be imagined so vile, and base, as to be a coward toward men, and a boaster towardes God?*

81. **He . . . Earth**: Luke 18: 8 (meaning 'faith in God', not 'truthfulness').

## II. 'Of Death' (pp. 9-11)

3. **Men . . . darke**: cf. *Ant. R.* 12, iv. 477 (i. 693), 'Men . . . dark, because they know not what is there'; Sir John Davies, *Nosce Teipsum*, lines 1909-10 (ed. R. Krueger [Oxford, 1975]). William Drummond of Hawthornden, who includes Bacon's *Essayes* in a list of books read in 1612, cribbed this sentence and several others from this essay for his *A Cypress Grove* (1623) (G. S. Greene, 'Bacon a Source for Drummond', *MLN* 48 [1933], 230).

6. **wages . . . world**: Rom. 6: 23 (Geneva), 'For the wages of sinne is death: but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord'.

10-14. **Friars Books of Mortification, . . . dissolved**: cf. Jesuit Robert Parsons, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* ([Rouen,] 1582), F3<sup>V</sup>-F4:



The first is the excessyve paynes whiche commonlye men suffer in the seperation of the sowle and bodie, . . . This payne may partlye be conceived by that, yf we would dryve out lyfe, but from the least parte of our bodye, (as for example owt of our little finger, as surgeans are wont to doe when they will mortifye any place, to make it breacke): what a payne doth a man suffer before he be dead? what raginge greefe dothe he abyde? and yf the mortifyinge of one litle parte onlye, dothe so muche afflictie us: Imagine, what the violent mortyfiinge of all the partes together will doe. For we see that first the sowle is driven by death to leave the extreamest partes, as the toes, feete and fyngers: then the legges and armes, and so consequentlye one parte dyeth after an other, untill lyfe be restrained onlye to the harte, which holdeth out longest as the principall parte, but yet must finallye be constrained to render it selfe though with never so much payne and resistance, which paine how greate and stronge it is, may appeare by the breakinge in peeces of the verye stringes and holdes wherwith it was envyroned, thorough the excessyve vehemencie of this deadlye torment.

See also Sir Thomas More, *De Quatuor Novissimis* [*Four last things*] (c.1522), in *Workes* (1557; repr. 1931), c. 7.

17. **onely . . . Naturall Man**: i.e. not as a Christian. Seneca was often baptized, however; cf. the collection of the sayings of the Church Fathers, *Flores Doctorum* (Antwerp, 1558), which contains more quotations from Seneca on death than from any other figure.

18. **Pompa . . . ipsa**: 'It is the trappings of death that terrify more than death itself'. Seneca, *Epist.* xxiv. 14, 'Tolle istam pompam, sub qua lates et stultos territas [Take away that pomp behind which you hide and terrify fools]'. .

18-20. **Groanes . . . Terrible**: cf. Montaigne, i. 19 (E2).

21-3. **no passion . . . Enemie**: cf. Donne, *Divine Poems* (ed. H. Gardner [1952]), Holy Sonnet vi. 9-12:

Thou art slave to Fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,  
And dost with poyson, warre, and sicknesse dwell,  
And poppie, or charmes can make us sleepe as well,  
And better then thy stroake; why swell'st thou then?

25. **of him**: i.e. of Death.

26-7. **delivery . . . chuseth it**: it is tempting to see the omission of this phrase, found in H51-24, as a politic revision, prompted by Bacon's own recent '*Ignominy*', the impeachment of 1621. But the phrase appears in a passage of parallel phrases, and its omission in 25 is more likely to be a compositorial error resulting from eyeskip; there are other instances in 25 of eyeskip (corrected by stop-press correction: XVI. 3-4; XVIII. 72; XXVII. 186-7; XLVI. 108). In 38 (*Latin*) the lemma is restored, supporting the view that the omission was inadvertent. Vickers, p. 221, considers the omission a stylistic decision to produce an 'absolutely symmetrical structure'.

27. **Feare pre-occupateth it:** i.e. fear anticipates the moment of death by resorting to suicide.

28-31. **Otho . . . Followers:** Marcus Salvius Otho, emperor January-April AD 69, took his life after his defeat by Vitellius. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 49.

32-3. **Cogita . . . potest:** paraphrased in lines 34-6. Bacon adapts Seneca, *Epist.* lxxvii. 6, who quotes the Stoic Tullius Marcellinus. Cf. *Ant. R.* 12, iv. 477 (i. 693); *AL* iii. 424.

39-40. **Livia, . . . vale:** 'Live mindful of our wedlock, Livia, and farewell'. Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 99.

41-2. **Iam . . . deserebant:** 'Now the strength and body of Tiberius were abandoning him, but not yet his powers of dissimulation'. Paraphrase of Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 50. Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus was emperor AD 14-37.

42. **Vespasian:** Titus Flavius Vespasianus, emperor AD 69-79.

43. **Ut puto Deus fio:** 'I think I am becoming a God.' Bacon conflates Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*, 23 (quotation) and 24 (manner of death). *Harmony* suggests a pun on *puto* ('think' and 'cleanse'). Renaissance dictionaries narrow the meaning of 'cleanse' to pruning, though Bacon's new context for Vespasian's remark makes such an additional 'jest' possible.

43. **Galba:** Servius Sulpicius Galba, emperor AD 68-9, killed by Praetorian conspiracy.

43-4. **Feri, . . . Romani:** 'Strike, if it be for the benefit of the Roman people.' Cf. Plutarch, trans. Xylander (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1580), 4K1, 'Hoc agite, dixit: si quidem ita ex re est populi'; *Lives*, 'Galba', 5B2<sup>v</sup> ('holding out his necke unto them').

44-5. **Septimius Severus:** Lucius Septimius Severus, emperor AD 193-211.

45. **Adeste, . . . agendum:** 'Make haste, if there is anything more for me to do.' Paraphrase of Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 17 (*Epitome Dionis* [1592], 2f4<sup>v</sup>, 'dixerit, moriens, Agendum, siquid nos oportet facere').

46-7. **Stoikes . . . Death:** cf. *Ant. R.* 12, iv. 477 (i. 693); *De Aug.* i. 726; *AL* iii. 427.

48-9. **Qui . . . Naturæ:** 'Who considers the end of life among the gifts of nature.' Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 358-9 ('spatium vitae').

49-50. **as Naturall . . . borne:** Tilley D327 (earliest citation 1626); cf. also B140; M73.

51. **dies . . . Pursuit:** Reynolds compares Montaigne, i. 19, 'I would have a man be dooing and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize upon me, whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her darte, but more of my unperfect gardin' (D6).

55-6. **Nunc dimittis:** Luke 2: 29, 'Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word'.

58. **extinguisheth Envie:** cf. *Ant. R.* 16, iv. 479 (i. 695), 'Nothing but death can reconcile envy to virtue'.

59. **Extinctus amabitur idem:** 'Once dead, he will be loved just the same.' Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 14 (of Hercules); *Promus*, fo. 84.

## III. 'Of Unity of Religion' (pp. 11-16)

A substantial expansion and revision of *12b*, including, unusually, deletion of passages. The change in title from *12b*'s 'Of Religion' signals his especial concern herein with unity within the Church of England. Bacon had written on the topic earlier in 'Advertisement touching Controversies of the Church of England' (1589), viii. 74-95, and 'Certain Considerations touching the Better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England' (1603), x. 103-27.

**5-6. the true Band of Unity:** cf. the opening sentence of 'Pacification', x. 103, 'The unity of your Church, excellent Sovereign, is a thing no less precious than the union of your kingdoms'.

**8. Religion of the Heathen:** cf. *AL* iii. 488:

the heathen religion was not only a worship of idols, but the whole religion was an idol in itself; for it had no soul, that is, no certainty of belief or confession; . . . the heathen gods were no jealous gods, but were glad to be admitted into part, as they had reason.

**10-11. chiefe Doctors . . . were the Poets:** 'heathens' includes all peoples not holding monotheistic beliefs, but the satiric reference here indicates that the Greeks (Homer, Hesiod) and Romans (Virgil) are intended. The assertion (*pace* Reynolds) is obviously an oversimplification to score a rhetorical point about true religion.

**12-14. Jealous God; . . . nor Partner:** Exod. 34: 14.

**20-1. Heresies . . . Scandals:** cf. XVI. 59-66, where 'Divisions in Religion' are cited as one of the chief causes of atheism.

**27-8. Ecce . . . penetralibus:** 'Behold in the desert' . . . 'Behold in the inner chambers'. Matt. 24: 26 (Vulgate). Cf. 'Controversies', viii. 74.

**30. an Outward Face of a Church:** cf. *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), ' . . . we in England are so fare of, from having a church rightly reformed, accordyng to the prescript of Gods worde, that as yet we are not [scarse, *2nd edn.*] come to the outwarde face of the same', in *Puritan Manifestoes*, edd. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas (London, 1954), 9. This pamphlet opened the 'Admonition Controversy' which resulted in the Marprelate pamphlets to which Bacon responds below (lines 37-8 n.). (I am indebted to Paul Christianson for this reference.)

**34-5. If an Heathen . . . you are mad:** 1 Cor. 14: 23 ('unlearned, or unbeleever').

**37-8. Discordant, . . . Religion:** cf. 'Controversies', viii. 77, 'Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism; curious controversies, and profane scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one [viz. in the Marprelate pamphlet war], no doubt that sect will make no small progression'; and John Marston, *The Malcontent*, i. 3. 9-12.

**39. To sit downe . . . Scorners:** Ps. 1: 1.

**41-2. Master of Scoffing:** François Rabelais (c.1490-1553); his romance of the giant Gargantua and his son Pantagruel combined ribald

humour, humanist critiques of education, politics, and philosophy, and satire upon scholastic theology and abuses in the Church.

**43-4. The morris . . . Heretikes:** *La Morisque des hereticques*, one of the volumes discovered by Pantagruel in the Library of St Victor in Paris (*Pantagruel* [Lyons, 1535], ii. 7).

**52-3. Controversies, . . . Devotion:** see 'Controversies', viii. 74-95, *passim*.

**53. Treaties:** Singer and Spedding emend to 'Treatises', but the copy-text spelling requires no change (*OED*, s.v. 1b).

**57-8. Is it . . . behinde me:** 2 Kgs. 9: 18.

**66-7. He . . . against us:** Matt. 12: 30 ('me').

**67-8. He . . . with us:** Mark 9: 40 ('on our part').

**68-9. Points Fundamentall . . . Religion:** see 'Pacification', x. 108; 'Controversies', viii. 75; *AL* iii. 482.

**74-5. onely . . . my small Modell:** see the recommendations in 'Pacification', x. 103-27.

**81-2. In veste . . . non sit:** 'Let there be variety in the garment, but not division.' Cf. 'A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union', x. 97-8:

For in this point the rule holds which was pronounced by an ancient father, touching the diversity of rites in the Church; for finding the vesture of the Queen (in the psalm) [i.e. Ps. 45: 14, 'circumamicta varietatibus [clothed in various colours]' (Vulgate); AV reads 'in raiment of needlework'], which did prefigure the Church, was of divers colours, and finding again that Christ's coat was without a seam [John 19: 23], he concludeth well, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*.

A favourite quotation, e.g. *Promus*, fo. 91<sup>v</sup>; x. 97-8, 224, 335; above, lines 68-9 n. Reynolds cites St Augustine (see Migne, *PL* xxxvi, col. 509).

**84. over-great . . . Obscurity:** see the discussion of Arianism in 'Controversies', viii. 75.

**88. one thing:** i.e. the same thing.

**96-7. Devita . . . Scientiæ:** 'Avoid profane novelties of terms and oppositions of science falsely so called.' 1 Tim. 6: 20 (Vulgate).

**100. Terme . . . Meaning:** cf. 'Idols of the Marketplace', *Nov. Org.* lix; iv. 61 (i. 170-1).

**106. Iron . . . Nabucadnezers Image:** Dan. 2: 33, 42-3.

**111-12. two Swords . . . Spirituall, and Temporall:** these two symbols of power are traditionally derived from Luke 22: 38.

**114-16. Third sword, . . . Warrs:** i.e. within Christendom. See Bacon's 1617 memo on the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta (xiii. 158), 'it may be a beginning and seed . . . of a holy war against the Turk'; and *Advertisement touching an Holy War* (1622; published 1629), vii. 11-36.

**116-17. Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences:** Bacon is no doubt thinking of such events as the French Wars of Religion, with the



infamous St Bartholomew's Eve massacre (see below, lines 128-9), and not his own Government's restrictive laws against dissenters and Catholics. He appears to approve of the distinction between outward conformity and inward conviction, e.g. *Observations upon a Libel* (1592), viii. 178, '... her Majesty (not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts and affirmations)'; but he defends punishments for 'causes of conscience when they exceed their bounds and grow to be matter of faction' (ibid.). Catholics suffered disability at law in England, and banished priests who returned could suffer torture and execution—not, it was alleged, because of their religious beliefs, but because of the political implications of fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church.

119-20. **Nourish Seditions; . . . Rebellions:** see the reference to the Gunpowder Plot (1605), below, line 129, and Bacon's prosecutions as Attorney-General of the alleged adherents of the doctrine of Suárez, who held it was legitimate to assassinate an excommunicated ruler—'Charge against Talbot', (1613/4), xii. 9, and 'Charge against Owen' (second copy, 1615), xii. 161-2.

120. **put the Sword . . . Hands:** e.g. the Anabaptists, below, lines 132-3.

121-2. **all Government, . . . God:** Abbott compares 'Pacification', x. 107.

122-3. **dash . . . Second:** i.e. to oppose those commandments defining duty to God to those defining duty to men (with an allusion to the shattering of the Decalogue's stone tablets by Moses in Exod. 32: 19).

125. **Act of Agamemnon:** Agamemnon, who had angered Artemis by boasting that he was the better hunter, sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia (Iphianassa) to appease the goddess and secure winds for his fleet. The action was particularly craven in that she was summoned to her death on the pretext of a marriage.

127. **Tantum . . . malorum:** 'To such evil actions could religion persuade.' Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, i. 101.

128-9. **the Massacre in France:** the murder of Huguenot Admiral Coligny at the instigation of Catherine de Medici and the Guise was followed by the slaughter of thousands of Huguenots by Parisian mobs on St. Bartholomew's Eve, 24 August 1572, and by prolonged wars.

129. **Powder Treason of England:** the plan by Guy Fawkes and a small group of Catholic radicals to blow up king and Parliament on 5 November 1605 was thwarted when a relative of one of the conspirators received a warning not to attend and notified authorities. Cf. 'Charge against Owen', xii. 161. Spedding, x. 255, suggests that Bacon sent an account of the plot with his presentation copy of *AL* to Tobie Matthew. (See the commentary on 'Of Superstition' [XVII].)

130. **Seven times . . . he was:** Lucretius' account of the atomist theories of Epicurus denies both the intervention of the gods and the immortality of the soul.

134. **the Anabaptists, . . . Furies:** a radical wing of reformers,



chiefly in Switzerland, Germany, and Moravia, persecuted by Catholic and Protestant alike for their belief in the baptism of believers only (*ana-* = 're-baptizers') and in strict separation from the world. The reading in 12*b*, 'the Mad men of *Munster*', indicates that Bacon is thinking of the excesses of those who in 1533-5, led by John of Leyden, attempted to establish a kingdom of saints with common property, polygamy, and John as king. They were defeated in a bloody battle with a coalition of Catholic and Protestant princes, and the leaders were tortured and executed. Cf. Nashe's version in *The Unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton* (1594), ed. McKerrow (Oxford, 1904), ii. 238-41; 'Charge against Owen', xii. 158; and the opinion of the 'Roman Catholic Zelant' in 'An Holy War', vii. 33.

135-6. **I will ascend . . . Highest:** Isa. 14: 14, spoken by the King of Babylon, a type of the Devil.

140. **Murthering Princes:** see lines 119-20 n.

140-1. **Butchery of People:** see lines 128-9.

142-3. **Liknesse of a Dove:** Matt. 3: 16.

145. **Assassins:** Moslem fanatics at the time of the Crusades sent out to murder Christian leaders. Cf. 'An Holy War', vii. 32-3; and 'Charge against Owen', xii. 158, where Bacon notes that the Turk Amurath I was slain and Edward I of England wounded by Assassins who were 'put down and rooted out by common consent of the Mahometan princes'.

147. **all Learnings . . . Morall:** the 12*b* version clarifies this phrase, 'and all learning, Christian, morall, of what soever sect, or opinion'.

147-8. **their Mercury Rod:** the *caduceus* or herald's staff entwined with two serpents, carried by Mercury as he guides souls to the underworld (Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 242-4). Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 40-1.

152. **Ira . . . Dei:** 'The anger of man does not fulfil the justice of God.' James 1: 20 (Vulgate, 'Ira enim viri, justitiam Dei non operatur'); so quoted, viii. 90.

153. **a wise Father:** unidentified; the quotation (lines 154-6), has not been traced.

### III. 'Of Revenge' (pp. 16-17)

First published in 25, the essay reflects events of a dozen years earlier, when King James made a strenuous effort to abolish duels of honour. There were thirty-three deaths from duelling between 1610 and 1619. (See Stone, p. 245, and Akrigg, pp. 248-58.) Bacon was involved substantially in the King's effort: prosecuting Lord Sanquaire in 1612 for arranging a revenge murder; contributing to a proclamation against duels (15 October 1613, Larkin and Hughes, No. 132; see also Nos. 123, 136); and publishing his *Charge touching Duels* (1614), xi. 399-416. The essay's tone, however, is not that of mere condemnation, but of detached exploration.

3-4. **Revenge . . . out:** cf. *Ant. R.* 39, iv. 488 (i. 703).

**6. putteth . . . Office:** cf. *Charge touching Duels*, xi. 400:

For the mischief itself, it may please your Lordships to take into your consideration that when revenge is once extorted out of the magistrate's hand contrary to God's ordinance, *Mihi vindicta, ego retribuam* [Vengeance is mine; I will repay], and every man shall bear the sword not to defend but to assail, and private men begin once to presume to give law to themselves, and to right their own wrongs, no man can foresee the dangers and inconveniences that may arise and multiply thereupon. . . . Other offences yield and consent to the law *that it is good*, not daring to make defence, or to justify themselves; but this offence expressly gives the law an affront, as if there were two laws, one a kind of *gown-law*, and the other a law of *reputation*, as they term it; so that Paul's and Westminster, the pulpit and courts of justice, must give place to the law (as the King speaketh in his proclamation) of *Ordinary* tables, and such reverend assemblies; the year-books and statute-books must give place to some French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of *Duels*, which if they be in the right, *transeamus ad illa*, let's receive them, and not keep the people in conflict and distraction between two laws.

**8. passing . . . Superiour:** cf. Tilley W946, 'To forget a wrong is best revenge'.

**9. Princes part to Pardon:** cf. Tilley R92, 'To pardon is a divine Revenge'.

**10. glory . . . offence:** Prov. 19: 11 (Geneva); 'passe over a transgression' (AV).

**16-17. angry . . . mee:** cf. XXXI. 19-21.

**18-20. like the Thorn, . . . other:** cf. Tilley T233, 'Of a Thorn springs not a rose'.

**20-1. most Tolerable . . . no Law to remedy:** at his trial for arranging the murder of his fencing master to avenge the loss of his eye in a practice match, Lord Sanquire included among 'these few circumstances to move you to pity', the indignity of having been wounded by such a mean person who then boasted of the deed, the perpetual loss of the eye, and, 'The want of law to give satisfaction for such a loss' (Howell, *State Trials*, [1816], ii, col. 750). The case was prosecuted vigorously by the Government: James issued a proclamation for the arrest of Sanquire (13 May 1612, Larkin and Hughes, No. 123) and took an active interest in the trial, which Bacon prosecuted; see *State Trials*, cols. 743-64; 'Speech of the Trial', xi. 291-3. Sanquire was hanged (with a silken cord in deference to his rank) on 29 June 1612 in front of Westminster Hall. Cf. also *Ant. R.* 39, 'The fear of private revenge is a useful thing; for laws too often sleep'.

**23-4. still . . . two for one:** i.e. the original injury and the law's punishment for taking the revenge itself.

**25. know, . . . Generous:** much was made in the Sanquire trial of the ignominious way in which the fencing master was slain. See 'Charge',

xi. 293, and the objection in the 'Proclamation for the apprehension' (Larkin and Hughes, No. 123), 'the time of the supposed wrong so long since past, and the murther done with a Pistoll, (a weapon from which no man can be safe, nor any defence protect,) and while the parties were in termes of friendship, without any renuing of quarrell'.

27-8. **Base . . . flyeth in the Darke:** cf. 'Charge against Somerset' xii. 309, 'for many times the poison is prepared for one, and is taken by another: so that men die other men's deaths; . . . and it is, as the Psalm calleth it, *sagitta nocte volans*; the arrow that flies by night, it hath no aim or certainty'. Cf. Ps. 90: 5-6 (Vulgate), *non timebis a timore nocturno: a sagitta volante in die*, 'Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night: nor for the arrow that flieth by day' (Ps. 91: 5, AV).

29-33. **Cosmus . . . Friends:** recorded in *Apoph.* 206, vii. 154. Bacon's source has not been traced. Cosimo I de Medici, Duke of Florence (1537-69), may speak at first hand since his own rise to power at the age of seventeen occurred when Duke Alessandro was slain by a close friend. Cf. XLII. 16-17.

31-2. **You . . . Enemies:** Matt. 5: 44; Luke 6: 27.

34-5. **Shall wee . . . also:** Job 2: 10.

36. **in a proportion:** i.e. in proportion to a relationship of friend to friend as compared to that of creator to creature (Reynolds).

38. **Publique Revenges:** up to this point the essay has dealt with 'private' revenge; from the examples cited, 'Publique' revenge denotes that undertaken to redress a perceived public wrong: they all involve assassinations of heads of State.

39. **for the most part, Fortunate:** Abbott suggests that the revengers prove fortunate in the event, but the implication appears to be rather that the result is fortunate for the public.

40. **Cæsar:** the assassination of Julius Caesar (?102-44 BC) by Cassius and Brutus, though it led to their own deaths at Philippi, may be seen as fortunate ultimately in resulting in the rule of Caesar Augustus.

40. **Pertinax:** Publius Helvius Pertinax, proclaimed emperor on 1 January AD 193 by the Praetorian Guard following the assassination of Commodus, was himself assassinated by the Guard a little more than two months later. Septimius Severus executed the murderers, disbanded the Praetorian Guard, and proved an adroit administrator. Julius Capitolinus, *Pertinax, Script. Hist. Aug.* i, 315-47 (Loeb).

41. **Henry the Third of France:** Henry III (1574-89) was assassinated at the siege of Paris by a Dominican friar, Jacques Clement (Jean de Serres, *A Generall Historie of France*, trans. E. Grimstone [1611], 4F3-4F3<sup>v</sup>). His rival, Henry of Navarre, who abjured Protestantism and became Henry IV (1589-1610), was also assassinated by a religious fanatic, François Ravallac. (See P. Mathieu, *The Heroyk Life and Deplorable Death of . . . Henry the fourth*, trans. E. Grimstone [1612]). In 38 (*Latin*) the phrase 'Henrici Quarti magni illius Galliae Regis' is substituted for the lemma, but it is clear that it was the death

of Henry III, leading to the reign of the heroic Henry IV and the Edict of Nantes (1598), which ensured toleration of the Huguenots, that would be viewed as fortunate by Bacon. (A painting of Henry IV apparently hung in his long gallery at Gorhambury.) See also XXXIX. 14-15 n.; 'Charge . . . against Talbot', xii. 7.

**42-3. Vindicative Persons . . . Witches:** cf. *Charge touching Duels*, xi. 401, 'the King, in his last proclamation [Larkin and Hughes, No. 132], doth most amply and excellently call them *bewitching Duels*. For, if one judge of it truly, it is no better than a sorcery, that enchanteth the spirits of young men, that bear great minds, with a false shew, *species falsa*; and a kind of satanical illusion and apparition of honour; against religion, against law, against moral virtue, and against the precedents and examples of the best times and valiantest nations'.

## V. 'Of Adversitie' (pp. 18-19)

**6-7. Bona Rerum . . . Mirabilia:** paraphrase of Seneca, *Epist.* lxvi. 29, 'illa bona optabilia haec mirabilia sunt' (Markby).

**7-8. Miracles, . . . Adversity:** Abbott notes that Seneca's 'mirabilia' ('wonders') has become 'miracles'. Cf. LVIII. 94-5.

**9-10. much too high for a Heathen:** i.e. too moral for a mere natural philosopher. Cf. II. 16-17.

**11-12. Verè . . . Dei:** paraphrased from Seneca, *Epist.* liii. 12, 'Ecce res magna habere inbecillitatem hominis, securitatem dei'. Cf. *AL* iii. 419-20.

**13. better in Poesy; . . . allowed:** see *AL* iii. 343.

**18-21. Hercules, . . . Christian Resolution:** a more detailed version appears in *Wisdom*, 26, 'Prometheus; or the State of Man', vi. 745-53 (668-76); cf. 746, 'Hercules sailed across the ocean in a cup that was given to him by the Sun, came to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free'; substantially the account in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II. v. 10, 11 (Markby), but combining details from the Geryon and Prometheus episodes. *Wisdom* (1609) is concerned primarily with the allegorical significance of Prometheus in secular terms, but offers in the final paragraph an interpretation that may be the germ of the essay passage:

The voyage of Hercules especially, sailing in a pitcher to set Prometheus free, seems to present an image of God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race. But I purposely refrain myself from all licence of speculation in this kind, lest peradventure I bring strange fire to the altar of the Lord. (753)

The change of the 'golden goblet' of the classical source to the 'Earthen Pot, or Pitcher' of the essay facilitates Bacon's new interpretation. Abbott compares 2 Cor. 4: 7, 'But we have this treasure in earthen vessels'.



26. **Blessing . . . Blessing:** (38) *Latin* distinguishes the two readings, 'Benedictiones' and 'Beatitudines', 'blessings' and 'beatitudes'.

26-7. **Adversity . . . New:** Abbott compares 1 Pet. 4: 13, 'But rejoyce in as much as yee are partakers of Christes sufferings; that when his glory shalbe reveiled, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy'.

29-30. **Dauids Harpe . . . Herselike Ayres:** i.e. in the Psalms, especially the Penitential Psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143) in liturgical use from early Christian times.

39-40. **pretious Odours, . . . crushed:** attributed to 'Mr. Bettenham' in *Apoph.* 252, vii. 160. Jeremy Bettenham was Autumn Reader at Gray's Inn in 1590 (see XLVI. 134 n.). For a 'scientific' explanation, see *Sylva*, 390, ii. 471.

40-42. **Prosperity . . . Vertue:** but cf. X. 44-6.

## VI. 'Of Simulation and Dissimulation' (pp. 20-3)

5-11. **Dissimulation . . . Tiberius:** cf. *AL* iii. 468.

7-8. **weaker . . . Dissemblers:** *Ant. R.* 32, iv. 485 (i. 701), 'When arts of policy are beyond a man's capacity, dissimulation must serve him for wisdom'. Cf. below, lines 23-5.

9-10. **Livia . . . Sonne:** Tacitus, *Ann.* v. 1.

13-15. **We . . . Tiberius:** Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 76; for Mucianus, cf. LIII. 44-6; LIX. 38-41.

20. **at Halfe lights:** cf. *Henry 7*, vi. 132, 'the King's manner of shewing things by pieces, and dark-lights hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day'.

21. **Arts . . . Life:** Wright quotes *Ann.* iii. 70, 'egregium publicum et bonas domi artes', and *Agr.* 39, 'studia fori et civilium artium decus', as possible sources.

28-9. **ablest . . . dealing:** in *De Aug.* v. 69-70 (i. 782-3), Bacon numbers Lucius Sylla, Julius Caesar, and Augustus among 'the greatest and most noted politicians' who 'have not hesitated to declare freely and undisguisedly the objects which they had in view', and contrasts their success to the failures of Pompey, 'who tended to the same ends, but in a more dark and dissembling manner'.

30-1. **like Horses, well mannaged:** i.e. trained in the intricate paces of formal horsemanship (the *manège*), knowing 'when to stop, or turne'.

45-6. **Secrecy: . . . Confessour:** *Ant. R.* 28, iv. 484 (i. 699).

48-9. **if a man . . . Discoverie:** cf. *AL* iii. 460.

51-2. **Secret . . . Things:** cf. *Ant. R.* 28, iv. 483 (i. 699) 'The silent man hears everything, for everything can be safely communicated'.

54. **Mysteries . . . Secrecy:** *Ant. R.* 28, iv. 484 (i. 699).

55. **Nakednesse . . . Body:** *Ant. R.* 32, iv. 485 (i. 701).

59-60. **He . . . knoweth not:** *Ant. R.* 28, *ibid.*

60. **set it downe:** i.e. record it as an important maxim; cf. *Hamlet*, I. v. 106, 'My tables—meet it is I set it down'.



**62-3. Mans Face, . . . Speake:** paraphrase of Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 312, 'nec vultu destrue dicta tuo', quoted in *AL* iii. 446 (Reynolds); cf. also *AL* iii. 368; and XXII. 20-1, where the Jesuits are credited with utilizing this weakness; *Ant. R.* 33, iv, 486 (i. 701), 'I like a reserved countenance and an open speech'.

**63-5. Tracts . . . beleaved:** cf. *AL* iii. 457; Tilley F590, 'In the forehead and in the eye the lecture of the heart doth lie'.

**76. Equivocations:** the use of terms having double meaning with the intention to deceive. The tactic was adopted and defended by the English Jesuits Robert Southwell, John Gerard, and Henry Garnett at their trials as a method of concealing information they believed wrongfully sought. See for contemporary reaction *Macbeth*, II. iii. 8-11; P. Caraman, *Henry Garnett, 1555-1606, and the Gunpowder Plot* (New York, 1964), Appendix E.

**91. Alarum:** a signal calling men to arms. The military metaphor is continued in 'faire Retreat' (line 93).

**94-5. take a Fall:** in wrestling, 'to be thrown', hence, to lose the match.

**100. Tell . . . Troth:** recorded in English and Spanish in *Promus*, fo. 85 (earliest citation, Tilley L237). Cf. *AL* iii. 458-9; and Polonius in *Hamlet*, II. i. 60, 'Your bait of falsehood take this carp of truth'.

**109-10. depriveth . . . Beleefe:** *Ant. R.* 32, iv. 485 (i. 701).

## VII. 'Of Parents and Children' (pp. 23-4)

**8. mitigate . . . Death:** cf. *Ant. R.* 5, iv. 474 (i. 690), 'He who begets not children, sacrifices to death'.

**8-10. Perpetuity . . . Men:** *Ant. R.* 5, *ibid.* Cf. Bacon's defence of Queen Elizabeth, viii. 140, 'she liveth a virgin and hath no children, so it is that which maketh all her other virtues and acts more sacred, more august, more divine. Let them leave children that leave no other memory in their times'; *Ant. R.* 5, *loc. cit.*, 'Man generates and has children; God creates and produces works'.

**11-12. Noblest . . . Men:** cf. VIII. 7-10.

**14-15. care . . . no Posterity:** in 1605, however, Bacon argues that King James should add to his 'fruitful bed' 'those acts also which are in their nature permanent and perpetual. . . . the further endowment of the world with sound and fruitful knowledge' (iii. 321)—a call to support his scheme for the advancement of knowledge. Bacon's own marriage to Alice Barnham was childless. See also 'Offer of a Digest' (1623), xiv. 363.

**22-3. A wise sonne . . . Mother:** Prov. 10: 1, 'A wise sonne maketh a glad father: but a foolish sonne is the heaviness of his mother'. Cf. *AL* iii. 451; *De Aug.* v. 40 (i. 754).

**51. Optimum . . . Consuetudo:** 'Choose the best: custom will make it sweet and easy.' Wright cites Plutarch, *Morals*, Z5, 'the precept of the

Pythagoreans serveth to right good stead in this case to be practised; Choose (say they) the best life; use and custome will make it pleasant enough unto thee.'

### VIII. 'Of Marriage and Single Life' (pp. 24-6)

5-6. **Hostages to Fortune:** *Ant. R.* 5, iv. 474 (i. 690); Tilley W380 (earliest citation). C. S. Brown, 'Lucan, Bacon, and Hostages to Fortune', *MLN* 65 (1950), 114-15, traces it to Lucan, *Bellum civile* [*Pharsalia*], vii. 661-2.

7-9. **Certainly, . . . Childlesse Men:** cf. VII. 7-10; 'In Felicem Memoriam Eliz.', vi. 310 (296).

11-13. **Children, . . . pledges:** cf. *AL* iii. 321.

17. **as Bills of charges:** Tilley W379 (earliest citation).

24-5. **Selfe-pleasing, and humourous Mindes:** Reynolds compares Montaigne, iii. 5, 'Licentious humours, debaushed conceits (as are mine) who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or observances are not so fit, so proper, and so sutable for it [marriage]' (2V6).

28-9. **not . . . runne away:** *Ant. R.* 5, loc. cit., 'To be without wife or children is good for a man only when he wants to run away'.

31-2. **water . . . Poole:** the stock argument for a celibate clergy: family responsibilities deflect attention from pastoral duties.

38-43. **Wife . . . called upon:** *Ant. R.* 5, loc. cit.

45-6. **Vetulam . . . Immortalitati:** 'He preferred his old woman to immortality.' Plutarch, *Gryll.* i (*Morals*, 3A6) (Circe to Ulysses); cf. *AL* iii. 319, where the quotation is termed 'a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency'.

53-5. **wise Men, . . . not at all:** attributed to Thales in *Apoph.* vii. 156; see Plutarch, *Morals*, 3M4. Cf. Tilley M529, M696.

61. **make . . . owne Folly:** Wright compares *Colours*, vii. 88.

### IX. 'Of Envy' (pp. 27-31)

3-19. **none . . . Blow:** see *Sylva*, ii. 653; Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, 3P1V-3P3 ('those who are reported to be eie-biters, or bewitch with their eies', 3P1V).

8-9. **Fascination, . . . be:** cf. *AL* iii. 381. The term is also associated with witchcraft; see Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 2N3 (Wright).

9-10. **An Evil Eye:** Mark 7: 21-2 ('a wicked eye', Geneva). One of the evils from the heart of man; envy is not mentioned in Mark.

20-1. **not unworthy, . . . in fit place:** see *Sylva*, ii. 653; *Hist. Vitae et Mortis*, v. 321 (ii. 213).

24. **Publique, and private Envy:** a frequent distinction in the *Essayes*: e.g. IV, XIII.

25-6. no vertue . . . others: cf. *Ant. R.* 16, iv. 479 (i. 695), 'Nothing but death can reconcile envy to virtue'.

31. Busy, . . . commonly Envious: cf. Tilley T534, 'Search not too curiously lest you find trouble'.

38-9. Non . . . malevolus: 'There is no curious man who is not malicious.' Plautus, *Stichus*, 208, 'nam curiosus nemo est quin sit malevolus'.

40-3. Men . . . goe backe: cf. *Ant. R.* 1, iv. 473 (i. 689), 'New men are commonly so diligent, that noblemen by their side look like statues'.

44. Deformed Persons, and Eunuches: Reynolds suggests an allusion to Robert Cecil and to John Williams (1582-1650). See below, XLIV n., for contemporary identification of that essay with Cecil. Bishop Williams, according to Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offered to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D.D.* (1693), became a eunuch as a result of a youthful accident (Pt. I, B4V). He succeeded Bacon as Lord Keeper after Bacon's fall in 1621 and, according to Spedding (xiv. 291), for fear of offending Parliament insisted that the clause of Bacon's sentence excluding him from the verge of the court be maintained. Further, he sealed Bacon's pardon only after considerable delay and probable pressure from the King (xiv. 306-18). James assigned him as one of several Court officers in 1622 to treat with Bacon's creditors (393-4).

Whatever animus may have surrounded the delayed general pardon, Bacon kept up his contact with the Lord Keeper, who in a letter of 7 February 1622/3 thanks Bacon 'for your book [*? Historia Vitae et Mortis*]', and all other symbols of your love and affection, which I will endeavour upon all opportunities to deserve', signing it 'Your Lordship's assured faithful poor friend and servant' (xiv. 404). More significant, in his will (dated 19 December 1625) Bacon leaves the register book of his orations and speeches to Williams, now Lord Bishop of Lincoln, but no longer Lord Keeper, out of favour in the Court and, in Spedding's phrase, 'in a disposition towards Bacon very different from former manifestations' (xiv. 545). A letter from Bacon (undated) suggests that he may find the bequeathed speeches 'fit to publish', and in a warm response of December 1625 the bishop declares 'For my part therein, I do embrace the honour with all thankfulness, and the trust imposed upon me with all religion and devotion' (xiv. 546-7). Even had Bacon believed that the opposition of Williams to him during and immediately following the impeachment was to be explained as the envy of a eunuch out to 'impair others' (line 46)—and, of course, this cannot be demonstrated—it seems most unlikely that he would risk offending in print a man he had recently designated a literary executor. Williams' fulsome response to that role similarly would be unthinkable had he recognized a personal allusion in the essay.

45. Bastards: a Renaissance commonplace; see Edmund's soliloquy in *King Lear*, I. ii. 1-22.

51. Narses the Eunuch: Narses (c.478-c.578), a leading general of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I, recovered Italy from the Ostrogoths,

then served as exarch of Italy for thirteen years. P. Mexia, *The Imperiall historie*, trans. E. Grimeston (1623), mentions that he was a eunuch (2E3) and deems him 'one of the most excellent captaines of the World' (2E5).

51. **Agasilau:** King of Sparta, 444-360 BC. See Plutarch, *Lives*, 314V; XLIII, 39.

52. **Tamberlanes, that were Lame men:** a Mongol conqueror, c. 1336-1405. Cf. *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) [Part III], N5 (marginal note): 'Tamerlans name: some make it to signifie *Lame-leg* by reason of that accident, falling from his Horse, *Michou*' (a corruption of *Timur lenk*, 'Timur the lame', *OED*). U. M. Ellis-Fermor, ed. Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* (New York, 1930), collects versions of the life. Marlowe's hero does not appear to be lame—'Of stature tall and straightly fashioned' (Pt. I, II. i. 7).

53-5. **Men, that rise . . . Harmes:** perhaps Edward Coke (1552-1634), Bacon's lifelong nemesis (Reynolds). Coke was removed in 1616 as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, partly at Bacon's urging after a clash over prerogative. (Cf. LVI. 102-3 n.; 123-5 n.). He returned as a leader in the 1621 Parliament, whose investigation of Government corruption resulted in Bacon's impeachment.

61-2. **Adrian . . . Artificers:** Publius Aelius Hadrianus, emperor AD 117-138; Aelius Spartianus, *De Vita Hadriani, Script. Hist. Aug.* xv. 10 (Loeb).

64. **neare Kinsfolks:** Reynolds suggests Bacon's cousin, Robert Cecil.

66-7. **Equals, . . . Fortunes:** cf. *Ant. R.* 16, iv. 479 (i. 695).

70. **Cains Envy:** Gen. 4: 3-5.

72-3. **no Body to looke on:** i.e. no one observed Cain's disgrace when Abel's offering was preferred so that there was even less reason for his brother's murder.

75-6. **Persons . . . envied:** cf. *Ant. R.* 1, iv. 473 (i. 689), 'Nobility withdraws virtue from envy, and makes it gracious'.

94. **per saltum:** 'by a leap.'

95-6. **joyned . . . Perills:** Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, 2C4V, 'For men ordinarily beare envie unto those who seeme to acquire glory *gratis*, without any cost, and to come by vertue easily, like as if they purchased house or land for a little or nothing; whereas seldome or never they envie such as have bought the same very deare, with many travels and great dangers.'

101. **Quanta patimur:** 'How much do we suffer.'

109. **so many Skreenes:** one of the functions of favourites is 'sometimes to interpose them between themselves [i.e. kings] and the envy or malice of their people; (for kings cannot err; that must be discharged upon the shoulders of their ministers; and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load)' ('Advice to Villiers', 2nd version, xiii. 28).

126. **somewhat . . . of Witchcraft:** see above, lines 3-19 n.

139. **Publique Envy . . . Ostracisme:** *Ant. R.* 16, iv. 479 (i. 695), 'Envy in commonwealths is a wholesome kind of ostracism'.



143-4. Of which we shall speake: see below, XV.

155-6. Envy . . . smal: Bacon may be thinking here of his own impeachment.

166. Invidia . . . agit: 'Envy takes no holidays' (*Ant. R.* 16, loc. cit.); see *Hist. Vitae et Mortis*, v. 279 (ii. 172); Tilley E172, 'Envy never dies'.

171-2. Envious Man, . . . by night: Matt. 13: 25, 'But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way'. As in lines 9-10, there is no mention of envy in the source.

## X. 'Of Love' (pp. 31-3)

3. The Stage . . . Man: cf. *Ant. R.* 36, iv. 487 (i. 702), 'The stage is much beholden to love, life not at all'.

6. like a Syren; . . . a Fury: i.e. love can disrupt life either with dissipation or with jealousy. The Sirens, half-women, half-birds, sang sailors to their destruction on the rocks (Homer, *Odyssey*, xii. 39, 184); allegorized as 'the pernicious allurements of pleasure' in *Wisdom*, vi. 762-4 (vi. 684-6). The Furies, winged women with snakes for hair, were goddesses of vengeance.

12. Marcus Antonius: see Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Marcus Antonius', 4M6<sup>v</sup>, 'Demetrius and Antonius', 4Q2; Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, especially I. i. 1-10.

13. Appius Claudius: judge and decemvir, his lust for Virginia and scheme to use his court to bring her into his power led to her murder by her father and revolution by outraged plebeians in 449 BC. The story was retold frequently in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, stressing the heroic chastity of Virginia. Bacon's view of the once 'Austere, and wise man' goes back to Livy, iii. 33, 44-8, 56-8.

19-20. Satis . . . sumus: 'We are a sufficiently large theatre for one another.' Epicurus, in Seneca, *Epist.* vii. 11, is speaking of the independence that the relationship with his learned friend affords. Cf. *AL* iii. 279.

21-2. kneele . . . Idoll: cf. *Ant. R.* 36, iv. 487 (i. 703), 'Love is a very narrow contemplation'.

28-30. Arch-flatterer, . . . Mans Selfe: Plutarch, *Morals*, G6<sup>v</sup> (Wright); cf. XXVII. 171-3; LIII. 22-5.

33. impossible . . . wise: Tilley L558 quotes Erasmus, *Adagia*; cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 3K1<sup>v</sup> (attributed to Agesilaus); *AL* iii. 328.

41-2. preferred Helena, . . . Pallas: Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi. 165-8 (Paris to Helen); cf. *Ant. R.* 17, iv. 479 (i. 695), 'All who like Paris prefer beauty, quit like Paris wisdom and power'. The essay narrows Juno's power to riches.

53. Martiall Men, . . . Love: Singer compares Aristotle, *Polit.* ii. 6. 6.

## XI. 'Of Great Place' (pp. 33-6)

7. seeke Power, . . . lose Libertie: cf. *Ant. R.* 7, iv. 475 (i. 691), 'While we seek honours we lose liberty'. Reynolds compares Seneca,



*De cons. ad Polyb.*, xi. 7 (Loeb), 'On the day that Caesar dedicated himself to the wide world, he robbed himself of himself'.

9-12. **Rising . . . Eclipse:** cf. *Ant. R.* 7, iv. 475 (i. 691), 'The rising to honours is labourious, the standing slippery, the descent headlong'.

13-14. **Cùm non . . . vivere:** 'When you may not be who you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live.' Cicero, *Epist. ad fam.* vii. 3 (as proverbial); *Promus*, fo. 93<sup>v</sup>.

16-17. **require the Shadow:** i.e. the shade of the house vs. 'at their Street doore'. Reynolds compares 'Discourse', viii. 138, 'an umbratile life still under the roof'.

19-20. **Great . . . other Mens Opinions:** *Ant. R.* 7, iv. 475 (i. 691) ('vulgar' for 'other Mens').

30-1. **Illi Mors . . . sibi:** Seneca, *Thyestes*, ii. 401-3 (Chorus) (as verse: 'Illi . . . incubat, | qui . . . omnibus, | ignotus . . . sibi'):

But greevuous is to him the death, that when  
So farre abroad the bruite of him is blowne,  
That knowne hee is to much to other men:  
Departeth yet unto him selfe unknowne.

(trans. Jasper Heywood, *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies* [1581], E3.

31-3. **In Place, . . . not to Can:** conflation of two sentences in *Ant. R.* 7, loc. cit., 'Honours make both virtues and vices conspicuous; therefore they are a spur to the one and a bridle to the other' and 'Honours commonly give men power over those things wherein the best condition is not to will, the next best not to can'.

35-6. **good Thoughts . . . good Dreames:** cf. Tilley W538, 'If wishes would bide (were horses), beggars would ride'; W535-537; *Advert. touching an Holy War*, vii. 18.

41-2. **Partaker . . . Gods Rest:** cf. 'The Writer's Prayer', vii. 260, 'Wherefore if we labour in thy works with the sweat of our brows, thou wilt make us partakers of thy Vision and thy Sabbath' (Reynolds).

42-3. **Et conversus . . . bona nimis:** 'And God turned about to look upon the works which his hands had made and saw that all were very good.' Gen. 1: 31 (Vulgate, 'Viditque Deus cuncta quae fecerat; et erant valde bona').

44. **And then the Sabbath:** Gen. 2: 2-3.

48-51. **Neglect . . . avoid:** cf. Bacon's maiden speech in Chancery as Lord Keeper (1617), xiii. 189, 'For it hath been a manner much used of late in my last Lord's time [Lord Chancellor Ellesmere] (of whom I learn much to imitate, and somewhat to avoid)'. The version in the *Resuscitatio*, *ibid.*, n. 4, reads, ' . . . with due reverence to his memory let me speak it, much to avoid'); lemma added in 25. There are a number of points of contact between the Chancery speech and the essay.

54-7. **first Institution, . . . fittest:** Abbott compares Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, iii. 1 (Gilbert, i. 419). Cf. XXIII. 15-16.

61-2. **stirre not . . . Jurisdiction:** cf. LVI. 102-5.

62. **assume . . . in Silence:** unlike Elizabeth, James was aloof and often maladroit in his dealings with the Commons. Cf. Bacon's advice

to him in 1613, xi. 369, 'above all things your Majesty should not descend below yourself; and that those tragical arguments and (as the schoolmen call them) ultimities of persuasions which were used last Parliament should for ever be abolished, and that your Majesty should proceed with your Parliament in a more familiar, but yet a more princely manner'.

72. For Corruption: cf. LVI. 92-5.

74-5. Sutours also from offring: *ibid.* 11 n.

90. Idle Respects: i.e. influenced by the status of a person rather than the facts of a case (see following note).

91-2. To respect . . . Bread: Prov. 28: 21. Cf. *AL* iii. 450, which quotes the Vulgate, and remarks, 'Here is noted that a judge were better be a briber than a respector of persons: for a corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly as a facile'.

93-4. anciently . . . Man: Plutarch, *Lives*, 4K2 (Reynolds), where marginal note reads 'Authoritie sheweth mens vertues and vices'; Tilley A402; 'Magistratus virum iudicat' in *Promus*, fo. 89<sup>v</sup>.

95. Omnium . . . imperasset: 'By the consensus of all, capable of rule, until he had ruled.' Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 49. After a distinguished military career, Galba was proclaimed emperor by his troops in AD 68; his honest but parsimonious administration provoked his murder within the year by followers of his successor, Otho. Cf. II. 43-4; XV. 218-20.

96-7. Solus . . . melius: 'Vespasian, alone of the emperors, was changed for the better.' *Hist.* i. 50. Titus Flavius Vespasianus, emperor AD 69-79. Tacitus is speaking of his predecessors, not of all emperors. He notes that the people feared Vespasian's bluff soldier's manner and the continued warfare of his eastern troops; in the event, his reign brought peace and prosperity. See *AL* iii. 436.

101-3. move violently . . . calme: cf. *Ant. R.* 7, loc. cit. 'Augustus rapide ad locum leniter in loco' in *Promus*, fo. 90<sup>v</sup>; *AL* iii. 371. Reynolds notes that Bacon rejects the principle elsewhere as being 'little help to philosophy' (v. 499; iii. 118).

109-10. Colleagues, . . . call them: cf. 'Speech in Chancery', xiii. 187, where Bacon promises as Lord Chancellor to consult his fellow judges.

## XII. 'Of Boldnesse' (pp. 37-8)

3. triviall . . . Text: i.e. the sort of commonplace writing topic suitable for young scholars.

4-6. Question . . . Action: Demosthenes (? 384-322 BC), who sought in his *Philippics* to rouse the Athenians against the threat of Philip II of Macedon. See Plutarch, *Morals*, 414-414<sup>v</sup>. 'Action' here denotes 'gesture and rhetorical delivery'. Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Demosthenes', 4F6<sup>v</sup>, 'the action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration)'; *Hamlet*, III. ii. 19.

7. by nature, himself, no Advantage: Plutarch, *Lives*, 4F6<sup>v</sup>, 4G1<sup>v</sup>, records Demosthenes' regimen to overcome a speech impediment.

13-15. in Humane . . . potent: cf. *Ant. R.* 33, iv. 486 (i. 701), 'Confidence is the mistress of fools, and sport of wise men'.

15-17. Wonderfull . . . Boldnesse: cf. *Ant. R.* 33, iv. 486 (i. 701), 'What action is to an orator, boldness is to a politician,—the first requisite, the second, and the third'.

27-8. Mountebanques . . . Politique Body: quoted in 1622 in a note to King James offering his services, 'I ever served his Majesty with modesty; no strouting, no undertaking' (xiv. 350). Lit. 'mount a bench' (Ital. *monta in banco*, Florio, *A world of wordes* [1598], V2); a quack who hawked medicines and cures from a platform using stories, tricks, and the like (*OED*). Cf. *Coryats Crudities* (1611), X1<sup>v</sup>-X3; Volpone's disguise (Jonson, *Volpone*, II. ii); *AL* iii. 371. *The Mountebanks Masque* was presented before Bacon at Gray's Inn in 1617/8 and a mountebank appeared in the *Masque of Flowers*, which he sponsored.

37-8. If the Hill . . . hil: recorded in Spanish in *Promus*, fo. 102<sup>v</sup>; Tilley M1213 (earliest citation).

41. make a turne: i.e. change, adopt a new attitude.

47-51. out . . . stay: i.e. the bold person who commits all is left stymied and embarrassed when his position is proved false. Bacon's physiology explains the difference between the bashful and bold person's expression in terms of the difference in the ebb and flow of the 'spirits' in the face. Cf. the similar explanation of the working of 'spirits', highly refined substances or fluids in the blood and chief organs (*OED*, s.v. 16), in causing love and envy, *Sylva*, ii. 653.

54. Boldnesse is ever blinde: Tilley B507 (earliest citation); cf. B112, 'Who so bold as blind Bayard [a bay horse?]; H634, 'The blind horse is hardiest'; XXXVI. 25-7.

56. the right Use: a major theme in the *Essayes*; there are signs in the 1608 notebook that Bacon desired to increase and make 'right use' of his own boldness:

To corresp. w<sup>th</sup> Salsb. [Robert Cecil] in a habite of naturall but nowayes perilous boldness, and in vivacity, invention, care to cast and enterprise (but with dew caution, for this maner I judg both in his nature freeth y<sup>e</sup> standes, and in his ends pleaseth him best and promiseth more use of me. (xi. 52)

[in conversation] To use at once upon entrance gyven of Speach though abrupt to compose and drawe in my self. To free my self at once from pay<sup>t</sup> [payment] of formality and complem<sup>t</sup> though w<sup>th</sup> some shew of carelesness pride and rudeness. (94)

### XIII. 'Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature' (pp. 38-41)

6. Grecians call Philanthropia: Reynolds compares Aristotle, *Nicom. Eth.* vi. 13. See the letter to Lord Burghley (? 1592), viii. 109, in which

he claims 'vast contemplative ends, . . . for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; . . . I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed'.

7. word **Humanitie** . . . used: cf. Elyot, *The boke named the Governour* (1531), 2N6<sup>v</sup>, 'The nature and condition of man/ wherein he is lasse than god almightie/ and excellenge nat withstandinge all other creatures in erthe/ is called humanitie; whiche is a generall name to those vertues/ in whome semeth to be a mutuall concorde and love/ in the nature of man'.

14-15. **Power** . . . fall: Isa. 14. 12-14. Cf. III. 135-6; *Valerius Terminus*, iii. 217.

15. **Knowledge** . . . fall: Gen. 3: 4-6.

21-2. **kinde** . . . **Birds**: cf. George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey* . . . 1610 (1615), F5:

They [Turks] extend their charity to Christians and Jewes, as well as to them of their owne religion, nay birds and beasts have a taste thereof. For many onely to let them loose will buy birds in cages, and bread to give unto dogs; for most have in this Citie no particular owners: being reputed an uncleane creature, and therefore not suffered to come into their houses, thinking it neverthesse a deede of piety, to feede, and provide them kennels to litter in.

Cf. also Busbechius, below, lines 22-4.

22. **Busbechius**: Ogier Ghiselain de Busbecq (1522-92), Emperor Ferdinand's representative at the Court of Solymán in Constantinople, 1554-62. His letters to a friend, *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor*, were published in Paris in 1589.

22-4. **A Christian Boy** . . . **Fowle**: Epist. 3 (1 June 1560), *Turkish Letters*, trans. E. S. Foster (Oxford, 1927), 114-16. Bacon heightens the drama, changing Busbechius' Venetian goldsmith, a habitual joker who is taken off to court to answer the charges, to a Christian boy playing a prank who is in danger of stoning by an angry Turkish mob. In 38 (*Latin*) Bacon reverts to the details of the source.

26-7. **Tanto** . . . **niente**: recorded in *Promus*, fo. 102.

30-1. **Good Men**, . . . **unjust**: Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 2 (Gilbert, i. 331). Both Bacon and Machiavelli stress that Christian virtues (goodness in the former, humility in the latter) make Christians vulnerable to less restrained philosophies.

39. **Æsops Cocke**: previous editors cite Phaedrus, iii. 12, but the fable is printed as Aesop's in the Renaissance. See *Caxton's Aesop* [1484], ed. R. T. Lenaghan (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 74. Cf. *Apoph.* vii. 154:

When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels. The



Lord Henry Howard was omitted. Whereupon the King said to him; *My Lord, how haps it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?* My Lord answered again, (alluding to the fable in Æsop;) *Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam* [I am not a cock/Frenchman and so have not found a jewel].

42-3. *sendeth* . . . *Unjust*: Matt. 5: 45.

49-50. *Sell all* . . . *follow mee*: Mark 10: 21; Matt. 19: 21.

63. *on the loading Part*: 'adding to the burden'.

64. *Lazarus Sores*: Luke 16: 21. Cf. *1 Henry IV*, IV. ii. 25-6, 'slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the glutton's dogs lick'd his sores'.

67. *never* . . . *Timon had*: Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Marcus Antonius', 4P4; *Timon of Athens*, V. ii. 205-12.

74. *Citizen of the World*: so Bacon terms *De Aug.* 'as English books are not' (xiv. 436).

74-5. *no Island*, . . . *but a Continent*: John Crossett, 'Bacon and Donne', *NQ* 205 (1960), 386-7, compares Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624), 'Meditation 17', T4-T4V:

No Man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the *Continent*, a part of the *maine*; if a *Clod* bee washed away by the *Sea*, *Europe* is the lesse, as well as if a *Promontorie* were, as well as if a *Mannor* of thy *friends*, or of *thine owne* were; Any Mans *death* diminishes *me*, because I am involved in *Mankinde*; And therefore never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for *thee*.

77. *noble Tree*: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 14.

83-4. *Anathema* . . . *Brethren*: Rom. 9: 3, 'For I could wish that my selfe were accursed ('anathema', Vulgate) from Christ, for my brethren my kinsmen according to the flesh'. Cf. *AL* iii. 421.

### XIII. 'Of Nobility' (pp. 41-2)

5-6. *absolute Tyranny*; . . . *Turkes*: cf. Knolles, 5F1V:

*The Othoman government meere tyrannicall.* [marginal note] The *Othoman* government in this his so great an empire is altogether like the government of the master over his slave, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a lord of all things within the compasse of his empire, that all his subjects and people be they never so great, doe call themselves his slaves and not his subjects.

13. *Flags and Pedegree*: i.e. banners displaying coats of arms.

13-14. *Switzers* . . . *Cantons*: a confederation of communities with a single Senate begun with three cantons in 1315 and comprising, at the time of the essay, thirteen cantons (both Catholic and Protestant communities). The earliest citation in *OED* is 1611; lemma is next. Cf.



Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary . . . Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions* (1617), 'Of the Sweitzers Cantons', 4B4<sup>v</sup>.

**15-18. united Provinces . . . cheerfull:** Reynolds compares Sir Thomas Overbury, *His Observations in his Travailes upon the State of the xvii Provinces as they stood Anno Dom. 1609* (1626; entered in Stationers' Register, 1616), A3<sup>v</sup>:

To all which assemblies, aswell of the generall States, as the rest, the Gentry is called for order sake, but the State indeed is Democraticall, the Merchant and the Tradesman being predominant, the Gentry now but few and poore; . . . Neither are the Gentry so much engaged in the cause, the people having more advantages in a free State, they in a Monarchy. Their care in government is very exact and particular, by reason that every one hath an imediate interest in the State.

Cf. XXIX. 93-5.

**20. diminisheth Power:** cf. *Henry 7*, vi. 242.

**25-9. Numerous Nobility, . . . Honour and Meanes:** for the inflation of honours in James's reign, see Stone, pp. 65-128. Cf. XV. 136-8; XXIX. 102-8. Just before his own knighthood, Bacon wrote apprehensively to Robert Cecil (16 July 1603), 'For my knighthood, I wish the manner might be such as might grace me, since the matter will not; I mean, that I might not be merely gregarious in a troop. The coronation is at hand' (x. 81). A week later he was knighted at Whitehall—along with 300 others.

**31-3. an Ancient Castle, . . . Family:** cf. *Ant. R.* 1, iv. 473 (i. 689), 'We reverence antiquity even in dead monuments; how much more in living ones?'

**35-6. Ancient . . . Time:** *ibid.*, 'Nobility is the laurel with which Time crowns men'.

**36-7. first . . . lesse Innocent:** *ibid.*, 'Seldom comes nobility from virtue; seldomer virtue from nobility'. The essay uses the word as *virtu*, the antitheton as moral virtue.

**38-9. rarely, any Rising, . . . good and evill Arts:** cf. XI. 100-3; *AL* iii. 471-2 (where 'evill Arts' are identified with Machiavelli).

**45-7. extinguisheth . . . Honour:** cf. *Ant. R.* 1, iv. 473 (i. 689), 'Nobility withdraws virtue from envy, and makes it gracious'.

## XV. 'Of Seditions and Troubles' (pp. 43-50)

**6-7. greatest, . . . Equality:** i.e. just as the chance of storms increases at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes when days and nights are equal in length (lines 7-8), so in the state, political troubles are more likely during a period when the proper order is disturbed and lower seeks to be like higher. Cf. Ulysses on degree in *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 78-124.

11-12. *Ille . . . Bella*: 'He [the Sun] often warns us that dark tumults threaten and deceits and hidden wars are swelling.' Virgil, *Georg.* i. 464-5.

19-21. *Illam Terra . . . Progenit*: 'Mother Earth (as they relate), irritated by anger against the gods, brought forth her [Fame or Rumour] last as sister to Caeus and Enceladus'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 178-80. Cf. LIX. 19-24; *AL* iii. 344-5; *Henry* 7, vi. 153; *Wisdom*, vi. 718-19 (vi. 645).

30. *Conflata . . . premunt*: 'When great envy has been enkindled, actions whether good or bad are attacked'. Markby compares Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 7, 'inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta parem invidiam adferebant', 'and now that the emperor was once hated his good and evil deeds alike brought him unpopularity' (Loeb) (of Galba).

37-8. *Erant . . . exequi*: 'They were on duty, but none the less preferred to interpret the orders of their generals rather than to follow them.' Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 39, 'miles alacer, qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exequi mallet' (of Otho's troops).

44. *as Macciavel noteth well*: Machiavelli denies that factions should be exploited and examines the dangers of governing a divided city. *Discorsi*, iii. 27 (Gilbert, i. 491).

44-54. *when Princes, . . . Possession*: cf. LI. 46-51.

45. *Common Parents*: see Bacon's comment on the Pope's claim to be *Padre commune*, *ibid.*, lines 42-6.

50. *League*: the Holy League was formed in 1576 by a group of Catholics led by Henry, Duke of Guise, in response to concessions recently granted to the Huguenots. Henry III (1574-89) joined the League twice: in 1576, when he promptly dissolved the group, and again in 1585, when it was revived to oppose the Protestant heir presumptive, Henry of Navarre. The King was soon forced to flee Paris under pressure of the Guise's forces; he joined with Navarre to free Paris and was assassinated by a deranged cleric during the siege. (See XXXIX. 14 n.)

58-9. *Motions . . . under Primum Mobile*: the *primum mobile* or 'first mover', the outermost sphere in the Ptolemaic system, was supposed to revolve round the earth east to west every twenty-four hours, carrying with it the other spheres. Bacon's favourite metaphor for proper, hierarchical order in government: cf. XVII. 22; LI. 54-8; 'Speech to Judges', xiii. 211.

63-4. *Liberiùs, . . . meminissent*: 'More freely than if they had remembered their governors.' Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 4, 'promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperantium crederes'.

66-7. *Solvam cingula Regum*: 'I will loosen the girdles of kings.' Paraphrase of Job 12: 18 ('He looseth the bond of kings', AV; 'Balteum regum dissolvit', Vulgate).

73-4. *Materials . . . Motives*: Reynolds suggests Bacon is using two of Aristotle's four causes here: 'material cause' (so termed, line 122), 'the state of things out of which seditions are apt to arise', and 'efficient cause' or 'motive', 'that which provokes them into existence'. The

four causes (material, efficient, formal, final) are discussed in *Nov. Org.* iv. 119–20 (i. 228).

**85–6. Hinc . . . Bellum:** 'Hence devouring usury and interest rapidly compounded, hence shaken credit, and war profitable to many.' Lucan, *Bellum civile* [*Pharsalia*], i. 181–2 ('avidumque' for 'rapidumque').

**101. Dolendi . . . item:** 'There is an end to suffering, but not to fearing.' Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 17 (Wright).

**110. The cord . . . pull:** Tilley C650 (sole citation); *Promus*, fo. 95 (in Spanish).

**149. Materiam superabit Opus:** 'The workmanship will surpass the material.' Ovid, *Met.* ii. 5 (of the Sun's palace) (Markby). Bacon adds 'and Carriage'. Cf. 'Advice to Villiers', xiii. 23, 'If we must be vain and superfluous in laces and embroideries which are more costly than either warm or comely, let the curiosity be the manufacture of the natives: then it should not be verified of us [lemma quoted]'.

**151–2. Low-Country-men, . . . above ground:** i.e. hard work and good carriage (transportation) are as gold-mines to them. Wright compares Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), d5, '. . . their chiefest lodestone, which drawes all manner of commerce and marchandize, which maintaines their present state, is not fertility of soyle, but industry that enricheth them, the gold mines of *Peru*, or *Nova Hispania* may not compare with them'.

**157–8. Money . . . spread:** Tilley M1071. Cf. 'Sutton's Will', xi. 254; *Apoph.* vii. 160 (attributed to 'Mr. Bettenham', Reader at Gray's Inn).

**160. Ingrossing:** i.e. to deal 'in the gross' by cornering the market and selling at monopoly price. Reynolds quotes 13 Eliz., c. 25, which prohibited unlawful ingrossing.

**great Pasturages:** Bacon praises efforts to lessen the impact of enclosures (*Henry* 7, vi. 93–4) and himself introduced a bill in 1597 against them; 'I should be sorry to see . . . in England, instead of a whole town full of people, none but green fields, but a shepherd and a dog' (ix. 82). In 1607 several proclamations were issued against enclosure riots. (See Larkin and Hughes, Nos. 71–2, 74.)

**169. Troubling of the Waters:** John 5: 4 (Wright).

**171–2. Jupiter; . . . Briareus:** cf. Homer, *Iliad*, i. 396–406 (Thetis calls for Briareus); *AL* iii. 345.

**179–80. maketh . . . Impostumations:** cf. Tilley W930, 'The wound that bleeds inwardly is most dangerous'; *Henry* 7, vi. 153; 'Speech concerning the Undertakers', xii. 45.

**183–5. Epimetheus, . . . Bottome:** cf. *Wisdom*, vi. 745–53 (vi. 668–76). Jupiter takes revenge for Prometheus' theft of fire by creating Pandora ('all gifts'), her jar filled with mischiefs and calamities, except for hope at the bottom. When Prometheus refuses to open for her, his brother Epimetheus ('after-thought') rashly opens it releasing a swarm of evils upon the world, so that only hope remains inside. In Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 80–105, Pandora opens the jar. Cf. Herbert's version in 'The Pulley', 'Rest in the bottom lay' (*Works*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson [Oxford, 1941], line 10).

189-90. hold Mens hearts by Hopes: earthly hope is rejected in *Sacred Meditat.*, vii. 248 (vii. 237).

196-7. no likely or fit Head: see Bacon's discussion of a Spanish plan to prepare a secret Catholic party in England, but without such a head, to conceal it from the authorities (xiv. 480-1).

215-16. Sylla . . . dictate: 'Sulla did not know his letters; he could not dictate'—with a pun on *dictare*, meaning (1) 'to act the dictator', (2) 'to give dictation, compose' (Singer). Paraphrase of Suetonius, *Life of Caesar*, 77, 'Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit'. Sulla retired to private life a year before his death; Caesar had no intention of retiring when he was assassinated. *Apoph.* vii. 144; cf. 'Offer of a Digest', xiv. 360-1. In *AL* iii. 313, Bacon comments upon Caesar's pleasure in his 'letters': 'it is evident himself knew well his own perfection in learning, and took it upon him'. (Cf. Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Miscellaneous Prose* [Oxford, 1973], 90.)

219. Legi . . . non emi: 'He selected his soldiers, and did not buy them.' Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 5.

221-2. Si . . . militibus: 'If I live, the Roman empire shall have no more need of soldiers.' Paraphrase of Flavius Vopiscus, 'Probus', *Script. Hist. Aug.*, xx. 20, 'brevi milites necessarios non futuros' (Markby). Marcus Aurelius Probus, emperor AD 276-82; a strict disciplinarian, he was killed by his own troops.

235-6. Atque . . . paterentur: 'And such was the condition of their minds, that a few dared the vilest deeds, more desired them, all permitted them.' Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 28 (describing the atmosphere before Otho's death).

240. Remedie, . . . Disease: Tilley R68 (1610); *OEDP* (1582).

## XVI. 'Of Atheisme' (pp. 51-4)

3-5. I had . . . Minde: cf. *Ant. R.* 13, iv. 478 (i. 694), 'I had rather believe the most monstrous fables that are to be found in any religion, than that this world was made without a deity'.

3-4. the Legend, . . . Alcoran: Jonson also groups the three works derisively in his 'Execration upon Vulcan', lines 62-6 (*Works*, viii. 205).

3. the Legend: the so-called *Golden Legend* (*Legenda Aurea*), a collection of fabulous lives and miracles of the saints compiled in Latin in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine (Jacopo da Varazze) (English trans., 1527).

3-4. the Talmud: the collection of Jewish civil and ceremonial law consisting of the Mishnah, or decisions of the elders c.AD 200 from the Pentateuch, and the later Gemara or commentary upon these compiled in two versions (Jerusalem, AD 408; Babylonian, AD 400-500).

4. the Alcoran: the Koran, sacred book of the followers of Mahomet; many of its stories derive from the Talmud or adapt and amplify biblical stories. (*al* = the Arabic article; *OED* lists tautological 'the alcoran' into the eighteenth century).



5-7. **God** never . . . it: cf. *AL* iii. 349.

7-13. **a little Philosophy** . . . Deitie: cf. *AL* iii. 267-8; *Sacred Meditat.*, 'Of Atheism', vii. 252 (240).

15-16. **the Schoole** . . . **Epicurus**: Leucippus (fifth century BC), Democritus (? 460-? 357 BC), and Epicurus (341-270 BC) formulated an atomist theory of matter in which solid, indivisible units fortuitously change position to produce combinations which comprise the phenomena of the sensible world; the cosmos itself is the result of such a random combination of atoms, achieved without help from the gods, who do exist but do not intervene. Diogenes Laertius (quoted lines 41-3, below, in a Latin version) contains accounts of all three (see ix. 30-3, 44-5; x. 41-83). See also Cicero, *De nat. deorum*, I. xii. 29, xxiii. 65-xxiv. 66-70, xliii. 120-1 (Loeb).

16-17. **four** . . . **Fift Essence**: the belief that four simple substances—earth, water, air, fire—compound all material bodies and that a fifth essence, or quintessence, made up heavenly bodies. Wright compares Plutarch, *Morals*, 3Y2<sup>v</sup>.

21-2. **The Foole** . . . **no God**: Ps. 14: 1. See 'Of Atheism', *Sacred Meditat.*, vii. 251-2 (239-40).

28. **Atheists** . . . **talking**: cf. *Sacred Meditat.*, *ibid.*, 'the Atheist, not being well satisfied in his own mind, tossing to and fro, distrustful of himself, and finding many times his opinion faint within him, desires to have it revived by the assent of others. For it is rightly said that *he who is very anxious to approve his opinion to another, himself distrusts it*'.

35-6. **Epicurus** . . . **dissemble**: Reynolds compares Cicero, *De nat. deorum*, I. xlv. 123.

41-3. **Non Deos** . . . **profanum**: 'It is not profane to deny the gods of the vulgar, but it is profane to apply the opinions of the vulgar to the gods.' Diog. Laert. x. 123 (Markby). Paraphrase of a Latin version, 'Impius autem est non que tollit multitudinis deos: sed qui diis opiniones multitudinis applicat' (*Vitae et sententiae philosophorum* [Venice, 1497], 'Epicurus', x, fo. xciii).

44. **he**: i.e. Epicurus.

45-6. **Indians** . . . **Names**: cf. Joseph de Acosta, *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (trans. E. Grimstone [1604]), Y8-Y8<sup>v</sup> (Wright):

those which at this day do preach the Gospel to the *Indians*, find no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a high God and Lord over all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in me, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they no proper name for God. If wee shall seeke into the *Indian* tongue for a word to answer to this name of God, as in Latin, *Deus*, in Greeke, *Theos*, in Hebrew, *El*, in Arabike, *Alla*; but wee shall not finde any in the *Cuscan* or *Mexicaine* tongues. So as such as preach or write to the *Indians*, use our Spanish name *Dios*, fitting it to the accent or pronounciation of the *Indian* tongues.



**53. Diagoras:** Diagoras of Melos (*fl.* late fifth century BC), lyric poet who fled Athens to avoid death for his views. See Cicero, *De nat. deorum*, I. xxiii. 63, 117; III. xxxvii. 89.

**Bion:** Bio the Borysthenite (c. 325–c. 255 BC), follower of Theodorus, an atheist and hedonist. See Diog. Laert. iv. 52, 54. Cf. *Apoph.* vii. 129.

**a Lucian perhaps:** Lucian of Samosata (born c. AD 120). His more than eighty works, chiefly satiric dialogues, include 'Dialogues of the Gods', 'The Parliaments of the Gods', and 'Zeus Rants', pieces more irreverent than atheistic: hence Bacon's qualification.

**57–8. great Atheists, . . . Feeling:** *Ant. R.* 13, iv. 478 (i. 694).

**59. Causes of Atheisme:** cf. Bacon's response to the Marprelate pamphlet controversy in 1589, 'Controversies', viii. 77, 'Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism; curious controversies, and profane scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one, no doubt that sect [atheism] will make no small progression'. Bacon calls therein for an end to 'this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matters of religion are handled in the style of the stage' (76). Cf. also *Sacred Meditat.*, vii. 252.

**63–4. Non . . . Sacerdos:** 'One cannot now say the priest is as the people, for the truth is that the people are not so bad as the priest.' Singer suggests St Bernard, *Sermo ad Pastores* (see Migne, *PL*, 'S. Bernardus', iii. 1092, sect. 8, 'Non sic profecto est, sed sicut populus, sic et sacerdos: sicut laicus, sic et clericus').

**71–2. Base and Ignoble Creature:** cf. XIII. 11–12.

**76. Melior Natura:** 'Better nature.' Ovid, *Met.* i. 21 (Wright).

**86–92. Quam . . . superavimus:** Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, ix. 19:

However good be our conceit of ourselves, conscript fathers, we have excelled neither Spain in population, nor Gaul in vigour, nor Carthage in versatility, nor Greece in art, nor indeed Italy and Latium itself in the innate sensibility characteristic of this land and its peoples; but in piety, in devotion to religion, and in that special wisdom which consists in the recognition of the truth that the world is swayed and directed by divine disposal, we have excelled every race and every nation. (Loeb)

## XVII. 'Of Superstition' (pp. 54–6)

**3–4. better to have no Opinion . . . him:** cf. *Ant. R.* 13, iv. 478 (i. 694). Wright suggests that the germ of this essay is in Bacon's letter to his friend Tobie Matthew (c. February 1607/8), imprisoned for his Catholicism:

I pray God, that understandeth us all better than we understand one another, contain you (even as I hope he will) at the least within the bounds of loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety towards your country. And I intreat you much, sometimes to meditate upon the

extreme effects of superstition in this last Powder Treason [i.e. the plot by Guy Fawkes and other Catholic extremists to blow up Parliament, 5 November 1605] fit to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of meditation, as another hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the heathen, that superstition is far worse than atheism; by how much it is less evil to have no opinion of God at all, than such as is impious towards his divine majesty and goodness. (xi. 10)

For the relationship between Matthew and Bacon, see XXVII n.

6. **the Reproach of the Deity:** Reynolds compares Seneca, *Epist.* cxxiii. 16.

**Plutarch saith well:** Bacon combines a passage in Plutarch's *Morals* with the legend of Saturn, who, fearing a prophecy that he would be deposed by his children, devoured them as fast as they were born, only Jupiter escaping. Not only the frame for the quotation, but also the introductory remarks of the essay (lines 3-4), derive from Plutarch, *Morals*, Z1<sup>v</sup>:

What say you then? shall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all, be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? and shall not he who beleeveth them to be such as superstitious folke imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine owne part, I would be better pleased and content, if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named *Plutarch*, than to give out of me and say: *Plutarch* is an unconstant man, variable, cholerick, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased and given to grieve for a small matter.

10-11. **as . . . Saturne:** Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 201-6.

13-14. **to Reputation:** i.e. as a restraint upon behaviour.

17. **Atheisme . . . States:** cf. *Ant. R.* 13, iv. 478 (i. 694), 'It was not the Epicureans but the Stoics that troubled the ancient states'. Epicurus is labelled an atheist in XVI. 14-16.

19-29. **Atheisme . . . civil Times:** Octavius Caesar, named 'Augustus' in 27 BC and Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC, fostered a cult of the *genius* of the emperor, but his reign included the Pax Romana and patronage of the arts.

25-33. **gravely said, . . . Church:** recorded in *Apoph.* vii. 164. Wright quotes Sarpi, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (1619), 22, where it is clear that 'certain wits' ('alcuni faceti') made the observation, not 'grave prelates'.

26. **Councill of Trent:** Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church which met in three sessions (1545-7, 1551-2, 1562-3) to correct abuses and define and codify dogma in response to the Protestant Reformation. Bacon is reacting to the distinctions and subtleties of dogmatic definitions.

29. **Eccentricks and Epicycles:** in the geocentric system of Ptolemaic astronomy, the planets were assumed to move in circular orbits which

did not have the earth precisely at their centres (hence, 'eccentrics'); the additional independent movement of each planet was explained by placing the planet on a smaller circle (or 'epicycle') upon the circumference of the orbit.

**29-30. Engines . . . save the Phenomena:** i.e. such devices were necessary to account for the observed movements of the planets.

**33. Causes of Superstition:** Bacon's criticisms appear to touch upon excesses within and without his own church.

**34. Pleasing . . . Ceremonies:** cf. Bacon's objection to the Mass ('Pacification', x. 115) and to intricate Church music: 'the curiosity of division and reports and other figures of music, hath no affinity with the reasonable service of God, but were added in the more pompous times' (117).

**35. Outward . . . Holinesse:** cf. Luke 18: 11, and the Puritan hypocrite pilloried on the stage by Jonson and others.

**35-6. Over-great . . . Traditions:** cf. the critique of those in the Church who 'grew to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to be innovated; partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest' ('Controversies', viii. 87).

**36-7. Stratagems of Prelates . . . Lucre:** cf. XIX. 116-21, and Cardinal Wolsey in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*.

**37-8. Favouring . . . Intentions:** cf. III. 68-71.

**39-40. taking an Aime . . . by Human:** the 'legitimate use' of the reason in matters of religion is defined in *AL* iii. 479, 480-1.

**43-5. as . . . more deformed:** *Ant. R.* 13, iv. 478 (i. 694).

## XVIII. 'Of Travaile' (pp. 56-8)

In 38 (*Latin*) the title is *De Peregrinatione in Partes Externas*; the essay's focus implies travel in Europe.

**7. some Tutor, . . . Servant:** Thomas Hobbes served in this role for several young noblemen, including William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire, whom he accompanied to France, Germany, and Italy, and, twenty years later, the Earl's son, with whom he travelled to Paris and Venice. Jonson gives a hilarious account to Drummond of Hawthornden of his experiences in France in 1613 as tutor to the high-spirited son of Sir Walter Raleigh (*Works*, i. 140-1).

**12. goe hooded:** i.e. blinded like hunting hawks, which were fitted with leather hoods when they were not pursuing game (*OED*, s.v. 5).

**17-18. Let Diaries, . . . use:** specialized diaries are recommended in *AL* for their historical value, 'in enterprises memorable, as expeditions of war, navigations, and the like, to keep diaries of that which passeth continually' (iii. 339). Two contemporary works which draw upon personal experience and comment in detail upon many of the items in Bacon's sightseeing list (lines 19-32) are Thomas Coryat, *Coryats Crudities. Hastily gobled up in five Moneths travells in France, Savoy,*

*Italy, . . . and the Netherlands* (1611), and *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. (Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, . . . France, England, Scotland, and Ireland)* (1617); Coryat's account is closer to the essay.

**19-20. Courts of Princes, . . . Ambassadors:** Bacon spent two and a-half years (1576-9) in the train of Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, Sir Amias Paulet, following the French Court. He returned to England during this period on an unspecified diplomatic mission and left France in February 1579 at his father's death. As far as is known, he did not travel abroad again. See R. L. Eagle, *NQ* 195 (1950), 334, for his licence to travel 'beyond the seas'; R. Strong, *Burlington Magazine*, cvi (1964), 337, discusses a rediscovered miniature of Bacon painted in France by Nicholas Hilliard.

**21. Consistories Ecclesiasticke:** though the term was used for ecclesiastical assemblies, both Catholic and Protestant, meeting to supervise church affairs (*OED*, s.v. 6, 8, 9), the reference to secular courts of justice (line 19) indicates that the traveller is being directed to sit in on the ecclesiastical courts deliberating matrimonial cases, tithes, and the like (*OED*, s.v. 7).

**22. Churches, and Monasteries:** Bacon derived unusual benefit from a visit to one French church, recording in *Sylva* an experiment with an echo in a ruined chapel at Pont-Charenton near Paris (v. 427).

**Monuments:** Coryat includes numerous transcriptions of monumental inscriptions (e.g. D3-D3<sup>v</sup>, F3, M1, M8<sup>v</sup>, 2K2-2K4<sup>v</sup>).

**25. Libraries:** Coryat visited the Jesuit library in Lyons (G8<sup>v</sup>), Cardinal Bessarion's library in Venice (P2<sup>v</sup>), the Palatine Library in Heidelberg (2N4), and the library at Mainz (2S1<sup>v</sup>).

**Lectures:** Coryat heard a 'learned Greeke lecture read' on Homer's *Iliad* at Basle (K6).

**27. Armories: Arsenals:** Both terms could be used to denote storage places for weapons and ammunition (cf. XXIX. 53, 'Arcenalls and Armouries'), but Bacon may be distinguishing army and naval stores (*OED*, s.v. 'arsenal', 1); 38 (*Latin*) supports this distinction; 'Armaria; Navalia'. Coryat distinguishes the Armoury in the Doges' Palace in Venice (Q7<sup>v</sup>) from the 'Arsenall which is so called, *quasi ars navalis*, because there is exercised the Art of making tackling, and all other necessary things for shipping' (R6).

**28. Magazens:** 'magazines; public storehouses'; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Cellae et Horrea publica', 'storehouses and public granaries'.

**Exchanges: Burses:** the terms were used interchangeably for buildings constructed to bring merchants together under one roof to transact business. Sir Thomas Gresham built his 'Burse' (after Antwerp's) in 1566, renamed the 'Royal Exchange' by Queen Elizabeth; Robert Cecil built the so-called 'New Exchange' in the Strand in 1609, christened 'Britain's Burse' by King James (*OED*). Coryat deems the Rialto, the Venetian Exchange, 'inferiour to our Exchange in London' (O6) and visits one at Bergamo as well (2B6<sup>v</sup>).

**30. Comedies:** not tragedies; note that the reason for attendance is



explicitly social. Coryat saw an unnamed comedy in Venice and commented upon the unfamiliar spectacle of seeing women act (T5).

**35-6. Capitall Executions; and such Shewes:** note that feasts, weddings, and executions are all classed together as spectacles. Coryat witnessed a public torture of two men by strappado before St Mark's basilica in Venice (T8<sup>v</sup>).

**39-42. as was said, . . . likewise said:** such wooden repetitions of the essay's opening passage and the return to the subject of the diary (lines 44-5) may reflect a hasty draft for this essay.

**43. Booke . . . Country:** cf. Robert Dallington, *A Method for Travell. Shewed by Taking the view of France* (1604), which offers gazetteer entries on the principal cities.

**59. Employd Men: 38** (*Latin*) reads 'Ministrorum interiorum', 'inner (or private) servants'.

**61. visit, Eminent Persons:** Coryat sought out the nephew of the Swiss theologian, Henry Bullinger (2F7<sup>v</sup>-2F8), and, in Paris, the humanist scholar, Isaac Casaubon (F1-F1<sup>v</sup>).

**72-3. in his Discourse, . . . Gesture:** the affected traveller was a frequent satiric target. Cf. *As You Like It*, IV. i. 33-8; the 1614 character, 'His attire speakes *French* or *Italian*, and his *gate* cryes *Behold mee*. Hee censures all things by countenances, and shrugs, and speakes his owne language with shame and lipping' (*The Overburian Characters*, ed. W. J. Paylor [1936], 11); and Chapman's antimasque in *The Memorable Masque* (1613), 'a mock-Maske of Baboons, attir'd like fantastickall Travailers, in Neapolitane sutes, and great ruffes' (Chapman, *The Comedies*, p. 565).

## XIX. 'Of Empire' (pp. 58-63)

**3-5. It . . . Kings:** cf. *Ant. R.* 8, iv. 475-6 (i. 691), 'How wretched to have nothing to desire, and everything to fear'.

**7. many . . . Shadows:** see *Henry 7*, vi. 243.

**9-10. That . . . inscrutable:** Prov. 25: 3, 'The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, And the heart of Kings is unsearchable' ('can no man search out', Geneva).

**18. Nero . . . Harpe:** emperor AD 54-68; Suetonius notes that his first action as emperor was to summon a harper (*Life of Nero*, 20); he competed with harpers on stage (22), was portrayed in statues and on coins as a harper (25), and, having set Rome afire, 'chaunted the winning and destruction of *Troie*, in that Musitians habit wherein he was wont to sing upon the stage' (38; trans. P. Holland [1606], S4).

**18-19. Domitian . . . Arrow:** emperor AD 81-96; delighted to perform with bow and arrow, fixing arrows like horns in the heads of wild beasts or shooting them between the fingers of a child (Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, 19).

**19-20. Commodus . . . Fence:** emperor AD 180-92; performed frequently as gladiator, even desiring to live in the barracks; after his



murder, the Senate permitted the desecration of his body, citing this conduct (Herodian, i. 15-19; A. Lampridius, 'Commodus Antoninus', *Script. Hist. Aug.* xi. 10-12, 18-19). Dio Cassius, lxxiii. 18, mentions Commodus' mutilation of his opponents in contests held in his home, perhaps the source of Bacon's phrase, 'playing at Fence'.

20. **Caracalla . . . Chariots:** Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor AD 211-17; raced in the colours of the Blue team begging for gold pieces 'like a performer of the lowest class' (Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 10).

28-9. **Superstitious . . . Alexander the Great:** Bacon combines two passages from Plutarch, *Lives*, 3S3-3S3<sup>v</sup>, and *Morals*, N2. Cf. *Apoph.* vii. 142.

29-30. **Dioclesian; . . . Charles the fifth:** Bacon added the example of Diocletian (emperor AD 284-305) to that of Charles (Holy Roman Emperor, 1519-58; King of Spain, 1516-56) in 25. He may have linked the two names because both men abdicated after most impressive reigns. Both, however, seem to have given up their positions owing to illness and old age rather than melancholy or frustration. With regard to 'superstitious', Bacon may be thinking of Diocletian's virulent persecution of the Christians at the end of his reign and of Charles's 'ascetic austerities' in the last few months of his life (Abbott, ii. 170), which included his presence at his own funeral rites performed a month before he died.

36-41. **Answer . . . low:** Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, v. 28; *Apoph.* vii. 132. Bacon develops this distinction in a Commons speech of 1610, xi. 177-8:

Here we see the difference between regular and able princes and irregular and incapable, Nerva and Nero. The one tempers and mingles the sovereignty with the liberty of the subject wisely; and the other doth interchange it and vary it unequally and absurdly. Since therefore we have a prince of so excellent wisdom and moderation, of whose authority we ought to be tender as he is likewise of our liberty, let us enter into a true and indifferent consideration how far forth the cause in question may touch his authority, and how far forth our liberty.

43. **Power Pressed . . . too much:** Bacon's revision of the earliest version of this passage (*H51*), in which he changed 'pressing power and imbasing Maiestie' to 'pressing power and relaxing power' in 12b-24 may be politic. Cf. XX. 59 n. for another instance of Bacon acting, as he put it in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of 97a, as his own 'Inquisitor'.

44-7. **wisdom . . . aloof:** cf. *Henry 7*, vi. 244.

54-5. **Sunt . . . contrariæ:** 'The desires of kings are commonly vehement and contradictory.' Paraphrase not of Tacitus, but Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* cxiii. 1, 'Sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi advorsae'; *AL* iii. 436 quotes and attributes correctly (Markby).

70-85. **During . . . Warre:** much of this passage originated in a White

Paper prepared for Prince Charles in 1624, 'Considerations Touching a War with Spain', xiv. 469-505, esp. 477.

**70-1. Triumvirate of Kings:** the struggle among these three kings to maintain the balance of power or improve it each to his particular advantage began with Charles's accession to the imperial throne in 1519 (a position which both Francis and Henry coveted) and continued through alliances and declarations, proffered marriages, and open warfare over the thirty years in which the three reigned. Holinshed's comment (*The Third volume of Chronicles* [1587], 4M6<sup>v</sup>) on Charles in 1520, a few weeks before Henry's meeting with the French King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, is a good instance of 'a watch kept':

The chiefe cause that mooved the emperour to come thus on land [i.e. to England] at this time, was to persuade that by word of mouth, which he had before done most earnestlie by letters; which was, that the king should not meet with the French king at anie interview: for he doubted least if the king of England and the French king should grow into some great friendship and faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to displeasure.

**76. take . . . Interest:** i.e. accept a present peace with a future cost or penalty.

**77-8. League . . . Italy:** made in 1480. Cf. *The Historie of Guicciardin*, trans. G. Fenton (1579), A2.

**81-5. Opinion, . . . Warre:** in 'Considerations', xiv. 478, Bacon quotes Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II. ii. 40, and argues the proposition that a just fear is a just cause of war; in fact, two of his three 'just grounds' of war with Spain (the third, the recovery of the Palatinate for James's son-in-law) are so stated, 'a just fear of the subversion of our civil estate' and 'a just fear of the subversion of our Church and religion' (470).

**86-7. Livia . . . husband:** Reynolds identifies her as the Livia implicated with Sejanus in the murder of her husband, Drusus (Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 3, 8); Wright cites Dio Cassius, lvi. 30, an account of the poisoning by tainted figs of Augustus by his wife Livia. The latter is no doubt correct, as both the nature of the murder and the princely victim fit the context; 38 (*Latin*) corroborates the latter—'veneficium Augusti', 'the poisoning of Augustus'.

**87-90. Roxolana, . . . Succession:** Roxolana's plot to persuade the aged Solyman to murder Mustapha, his son and heir (1553), to further her own son's interests exists in several contemporary accounts including Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (No. 10), Busbecq's *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quator*, Fulke Greville's neo-Senecan drama, *Mustapha* (1609, 1633), and Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). Greville's play has 'Rossa' for 'Roxolana', but Busbecq and Knolles agree with the essay. Though Bacon quotes Busbecq elsewhere (XIII. 22-4), his source for this reference and below, lines 98-102, is Knolles, who places the ultimate responsibility for the murder upon Roxolana and uses the same term as Bacon does (line 88); 'the utter destruction

of him, to whom all others wished all happiness'; the account of the plot and strangulation of Mustapha with a knotted bow-string in the presence of his deceived father appears in Knolles, along with an engraved portrait of Roxolana (3T2-3T4). Having removed Solymán's first heir, she opposed his next by supporting her younger son Bajazeth against his elder brother Selymus; see lines 101-2.

**90-1. Edward . . . hand:** Edward II (1307-27) was forced by Queen Isabella and Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, to resign his crown to his son, Edward III, then at their instigation was brutally murdered in his prison cell with a red-hot poker. Stow, *The Annales of England* (1592), Y4, places more emphasis than Holinshed upon the Queen's role.

**99-102. fatall . . . Supposititious:** the rebellions of Bajazeth fostered by Roxolana were crushed, but to many Selymus was an unworthy heir for Solymán's empire (Knolles, 3V4).

**102-8. destruction . . . him:** Constantine the Great (c.AD 274-337) executed his eldest son, Crispus, after his stepmother accused him, apparently falsely, of assault; she was, in turn, put to death. Tragedy, indeed, followed the family thereafter. Having reunited the empire through his own efforts as a general and as an innovative administrator, and created the new Rome of Constantinopolis, he planned to maintain it by dividing it at his death among his sons. Constantinus (AD 317-40) became ruler of Britain, Gaul, and Spain and died in 340 as he invaded northern Italy to overthrow his brother Constans (the essay's 'Constance'); Constans (c.AD 320-50) ruled Italy, Africa, and Illyricum until his assassination by his soldiers in 350; Constantius (AD 324-61), ruler of the East, appointed his cousin Julianus (AD 332-63) Caesar in Gaul and died of illness in 361 while marching to repress a rebellion by Julianus, whose troops had proclaimed him emperor. Julianus, called 'the Apostate' for his attempts to reverse the Christian revolution in the empire, ruled until 363.

**108-10. destruction . . . Repentance:** Philip V (d. 179 BC), not Philip II (Reynolds). (The error in 25 may be the result of scribal or compositorial eyeskip to line 114.) According to Livy, xl. 24, Demetrius was murdered after his brother, Perseus, convinced Philip that his son was plotting with the Romans against him. Livy emphasizes the craven nature of the murder—a poisoned cup at supper, followed by suffocation when the poison worked too slowly—insists upon the innocence of Demetrius, and portrays Philip as plagued with remorse once the treachery of Perseus was manifest (xl. 54, 56).

**113-14. Selymus . . . Bajazet:** Selymus took up arms against his aged father Bajazeth II, but was defeated in battle (Knolles, 2T3-2T3V). His corruption of the Janizaries was more successful, and they proclaimed him emperor as the old emperor withdrew from Constantinople in sorrow. Bajazeth's distrust did not protect him from his son's treachery, however, for he was poisoned soon afterwards by his own physician at the instigation of Selymus (2V1V-2V2V).

**114-15. three . . . England:** Henry's sons were in open rebellion for much of the latter part of his reign. Richard and Geoffrey, encouraged

by their mother, Queen Eleanor, and Lewis of France, joined in a rebellion against their elder brother Henry in 1173 which Henry II defeated decisively. In 1183, young Henry and Geoffrey joined against King Henry and Richard, that strife ending with young Henry's death; Henry II died in Normandy in 1189 of illness in the midst of yet another family struggle, this time against his son Richard and Philip of France.

Bacon's distinction about the 'good' to be had in distrusting children in open rebellion is unclear, unless it be that only such overt disloyalty warrants a father suspecting a child; in both of his examples, however, the result of power struggles within the family was 'unfortunate' (line 98), notwithstanding the rulers' distrust of their children.

**118-19. who . . . Sword:** St Anselm (1033-1109), who accepted the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1093, soon clashed with William II (1087-1100) over the question of allegiance to Pope Urban. At a national council in 1095, he refused to submit, and slipped away to Rome. The quarrel resumed with King Henry I (1100-35) upon Anselm's return to England in 1099 over the question of lay investiture of clerics and homage for benefices, recently forbidden by a General Council in Rome. After a protracted struggle, a compromise was reached in 1107 in which the Pope conceded the question of homage and the king conceded the question of investiture. Thomas Becket (? 1118-70) first served Henry II (1133-89) as Chancellor, but resigned the seal when he was created Archbishop. He clashed with the King over royal attempts to assert jurisdiction over clerics who had committed crimes, and he resisted demands for money and Church properties. Henry's attempt to have Becket judged in the King's Court led to an appeal to the Pope and, finally, to the Archbishop's murder by four of Henry's knights in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170. He was canonized three years later, but expunged in 1538 from the English Church calendar and all images of him destroyed by proclamation of Henry VIII.

Bacon's colloquial phrase suggesting a duel between archbishop's crosier and king's sword may have its source in Holinshed's vivid account (*The Third volume of Chronicles* [1587], iii. G4) of Becket's insistence upon carrying his own cross into the King's Court to answer the summons:

he put on his sacrificing vestures, with a cope upon them all, and so went to the court. . . . and bearing the crosse in his right hand, and the reine of his bridell in his left, he came in that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred the place, still bearing the crosse himselfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other bishops following him with great feare and trembling. Now being come thither, the bishop of Hereford would gladlie have taken the crosse, and have borne it before him, but he would not suffer him, saieng: It is most reason that I should beare it my selfe, under the defense whereof I may remaine in safetie: and beholding this ensigne, I need not doubt under what prince I serve.



122. **that State:** i.e. the clergy.

129-30. **I have . . . Nobility:** see *Henry 7*, vi. 242.

135. **Second Nobles:** defined as gentlemen (line 60).

141. **Merchants; . . . Vena porta:** the *vena porta*, or gate-vein, designated the large, multi-branched vein which distributed chyle to the liver (see Ellis's note, vi. 422); the same metaphor is used in *XLI*. 28-9 and *Henry 7*, vi. 172.

143-7. **Taxes, . . . decreased:** in 1610, as King's Solicitor, Bacon argued in Parliament for the King's right to impose 'payments at the ports' (xi. 191), but here emphasizes the negative effects of trade taxation.

145. **winnes . . . Shire:** i.e. to gain in a small matter and lose in a larger; Tilley H809.

153-5. **remainne . . . Rome:** the Janizaries were an élite Ottoman corps originally made up of conscripted Christian youths and war prisoners, who were converted, specially trained in Turkish language and custom under strict military discipline, and then assigned to guard the emperor. Knolles is filled with instances of their power and privileges (e.g. R6-R6<sup>v</sup>, 2G1, 2V4, 3C2<sup>v</sup>). See *LIX*. 49-52 for the custom of concealing the death of the Great Turk from the Janizaries for as long as possible.

The Praetorians had a similar development. Formally organized by Augustus in 27 BC as bodyguard to the emperor and his family, they were garrisoned just outside Rome under Sejanus and soon demanded special privileges and payments. The nature of their political power may be seen in two later examples. Galba's haughty refusal to 'buy' his troops (*XV*. 218-20) led to his murder by the Praetorians. Similarly, Pertinax's promise of a large donative made him emperor for three months in AD 193: his failure to pay them that largesse resulted in his murder. Constantine disbanded them in AD 312.

158-9. **Princes . . . no Rest:** *Ant. R.* 8; cf. *XI*. 7 n.; 'Discourse Touching the Happy Union', x. 90.

160-3. **All . . . Will:** substantially this passage was inserted in *H51* (c. 1610-12) in Bacon's hand. See the Frontispiece and the discussion in the Textual Introduction.

161-2. **Memento . . . Vice Dei:** 'Remember that you are a man' and 'Remember that you are a god' or 'God's vicegerent'.

## XX. 'Of Counsell' (pp. 63-8)

4-6. **Confidences, . . . Affaire:** i.e. to stewards, tutors, money-lenders, representatives, respectively.

12. **The Counsellour:** Isa. 9: 6.

13. **In Counsell is Stability:** paraphrase of Prov. 20: 18, 'Every purpose is established by counsell'. Cf. Vulgate, 'Cogitationes consiliis roborantur', 'Thoughts are strengthened by counsels'.

14. **Agitation:** a pun, (1) 'motion', (2) 'debate'.



**18-24. Salomons Sonne . . . Matter:** 1 Kgs. 12: 1-19. Rehoboam rejected the advice of his father's elders to be lenient to Jeroboam and the Israelites and, urged by his youthful companions, promised harsh treatment which resulted in an Israelite rebellion.

**28-35. Jupiter . . . Head:** in classical mythology, Metis is 'counsel' and Pallas Athena 'wisdom'. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 886-900; *Wisdom*, 'Metis or Counsel', vi. 761-2 (683).

**58. Practise of France:** Henry IV (1589-1610) discussed State business with trusted counsellors while strolling in the gardens or inner rooms of his residence.

**59. Cabinet Counsels:** a reference to private consultations between the King and certain advisors within some inner chamber or 'cabinet', not to a particular, fixed body. The official group of advisors was the Privy Council, which after being cut back to a group of twelve to eighteen high-ranking persons under Queen Elizabeth, expanded again under James into a large and unwieldy group (approximately twenty to thirty-five); as a result, in the 1620s a small group of advisors developed within the Privy Council. See G. R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact, II: The Council', *Trans. Royal Hist. Society*, 5th ser., 25 (1975), 195-211, and G. E. Alymer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642* (rev. edn., 1974), 9, 'Table 2: Composition of the Privy Council' (total in 1625, thirty), 'Table 3'.

In 38 (*Latin*) the translation is 'concilia interiora quae vulgo vocantur *Cabinetti*', 'secret counsels which are commonly called *cabinetti*'. A cancelled passage in *H51* containing holograph corrections (after line 60) suggests that Bacon is objecting to a King's undue reliance upon unqualified favourites and non-professionals, not to consultations with select Privy Counsellors (see lines 61-2, 69-71) on particular issues: '[cabinet counsels] wch hath tourned *Metis* the wife, to *Metis* the Mistresse, that is the councelles of State to wch Princes are solemnly marryed, to Councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by flattery and affection.' The *H51* passage was omitted from all the printed editions, presumably for its impolitic candor in the reign of a king who relied increasingly upon favourites. (Vickers, p. 222, is surely wrong in seeing it merely as a stylistic revision.) The insertion of the phrase 'in some Kings times' in 25 (line 59) supplies additional distancing. *OED* cites lemma as the earliest use of the term (dating *H51* 1607-12). But cf. in 1592 Yelverton MS 162, 'Instructions for a Principall Secretarie', where the term denotes 'taking advice secretly': 'Favour not secrett or Cabinet Councells wch doe but cause jealousie and envie' (in C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham* [Oxford, 1925], Appendix, i. 424-5).

**67. Plenus rimarum sum:** 'I am full of leaks.' Terence, *Eunuchus*, line 105.

**75. able . . . Hand-Mill:** i.e. without the need of more complicated machinery of government. A handmill was a small mill (or 'quern') used for grinding grains or spices for household use.

**79. Morton, and Fox:** John Morton (? 1420-1500), Bishop of Ely,

became Lord Chancellor in 1487 and Cardinal in 1493. Richard Fox (? 1448-1528), Bishop of Exeter, served as Lord Privy Seal and Principal Secretary, retiring to his diocese as Cardinal Wolsey gained upon the accession of Henry VIII. See *Henry 7*, vi. 40, 207-8, 240-1, 242.

**80. The Fable sheweth:** i.e. of Metis and Jupiter, above, lines 31-49. Kings should take back the fruits of counsel owning them as their children.

**83. bereaved of his Dependances:** 'deprived of his authority.'

**89-90. Non . . . terram:** 'He shall not find faith upon the earth.' Luke 18: 8 (Vulgate, 'putas, inveniet fidem in terra'); in English at I. 81.

**90. Nature of Times:** i.e. of specific moments in time.

**100. Principis . . . suos:** 'A prince's greatest virtue is to know his own people.' Martial, *Epigr.* viii. 15. Quoted in a letter of 1593 offering his services to Queen Elizabeth (viii. 241), and in another of 1603 to King James, who was *en route* south to assume his crown (x. 63).

**104-5. Advise him, . . . Humour:** cf. 'Advice to Villiers', xiii. 15, 'give him true intelligence. If you flatter him, you betray him'.

**118-19. Persons, . . . Description:** i.e. one does not pick abstractions, but individual personalities for Council.

**118. Secundum genera:** 'according to kind.'

**122. Optimi Consiliarii mortui:** 'The best counsellors are the dead.' Recorded in *Promus*, fo. 90; cf. *Apoph.* vii. 140, 'Alonso of Arragon [1416-58] was wont to say of himself, *That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead*: meaning books'; and Jonson, *Discoveries*, viii. 601.

**124-5. Specially . . . Stage:** Bacon's favourite metaphor for the active political life. See B. Vickers, 'Bacon's Use of Theatrical Imagery', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, iv (April 1971), 189-226.

**126. The Counsels, at this Day:** it is clear that Bacon is thinking of the English Privy Council. He was sworn a Privy Councillor in 1616, though he attended specific meetings before that date as Attorney-General.

**128. run . . . Counsell:** cf. King James's praise of Bacon (as recorded in a letter to Bacon from Buckingham in 1619):

As I was reading your Lordship's letter, his Majesty came, and took it out of my hands, when he knew from whom it came, before I could read the paper enclosed; and told me that you had done like a wise counsellor: first setting down the state of the question, and then propounding the difficulties, the rest being to be done in its own time. (xiv. 43-4)

**129-30. Matter . . . next day:** cf. 'Advice', xiii. 19.

**131. In Nocte Consilium:** 'Counsell in the night.' Proverbial; Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1551), s.v. [lemma]. Cf. Tilley C696, 'Take counsel of your pillow'.

**131-2. So was it done, . . . Union:** in 1604 a Commission of forty-eight English and thirty-one Scots met to discuss the implications of

a union of the two countries. Bacon took an active role, preparing a paper on issues to be raised (x. 218-34) and a draft of the proclamation for the King's new Style (x. 235-9; Larkin and Hughes, No. 45). Spedding prints excerpts from a journal (perhaps Bacon's) of the Commission's proceedings, which includes this entry: 'Agreed by a full consent that every time of assembly, after the matters concluded at that sitting, there shall be propositions made of such particular questions and matters as shall be debated at the next sitting' (x. 241).

**136. Hoc agere:** 'Take heede: be attentive to this: set thy mind on this thing wholly' (Cooper, *Thesaurus* [1584]). Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Numa', G2<sup>v</sup> (Wright).

**136-7. Committees, for ripening Busnesse:** presumably *ad hoc* committees made up of selected Privy Councillors; see 'standing Commissions', below.

**139-40. standing Commissions:** Bacon appears to be proposing that the English Royal Commissions, made up of both Privy Council members and outside experts and appointed to look into specific issues, such as the union (see lines 131-2) or the King's finances and administration, be established on a more permanent basis along the lines of the Spanish councils (line 142), but as instruments of the Privy Council. (See also Aylmer, *The King's Servants*, p. 22.)

**141-2. divers particular . . . Estate:** cf. Edward Grimstone, 'Observations touching the state and government of Spain', in his translation of Lewis de Mayerne's *The Generall Historie of Spaine* (1612), 6F5<sup>v</sup>. Grimstone describes sixteen councils, many of which would fit under Bacon's more general categories. See also J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (New York, 1963), ch. 5, sect. 2, esp. Table III, 'The conciliar system'.

**150-1. A long Table, . . . Substance:** probably a comment on the council table of the Privy Council. The Venetian Ambassador, Scaramelli, describes a visit to a council meeting in 1603 in which eleven members of the council sat 'on long benches, on each side of a table', while the ambassador sat 'in a brocaded chair at the head of the table' (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1592-1603* [1897], 567). The order of the ambassador's list suggests that members sat at the table ranked from highest to lowest (Lord Chancellor to knights), so that Bacon's remarks about those at the 'upper end' being able to 'sway all the Busnesse' has additional point. This particular meeting was held at Richmond and not Whitehall, though, presumably, the rooms reserved for council meetings were similar.

**154-5. A King, when he presides:** a task James found distasteful. He attended meetings irregularly—two out of thirty meetings May-September 1613, four out of eighty-seven meetings in 1616, twice in 1618.

**157. take the Winde of him:** i.e. get to the windward of another ship so as to take advantage of its wind.

**158. sing . . . Placebo:** *placebo* = 'I shall please', i.e. be a time-server; Tilley P378. Cf. Bacon's 1608 notebook, xi. 93, 'At Counsell

table chiefly to make good my L. of Salsb. [Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary] mocions and speaches, and for the rest some tymes one sometymes another; chiefly his y<sup>t</sup> is most earnest and in affection'.

## XXI. 'Of Delays' (pp. 68-9)

**3-4. Fortune . . . will fall:** cf. *Ant. R.* 41, iv. 489 (i. 704), 'Fortune sells many things to him that is in a hurry, which she gives to him that waits'.

**5-7. like Sybilla's Offer; . . . Price:** in Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* i. 19, the old woman offers to sell Tarquin nine books containing the oracles of the gods for an immense price; when the king refuses, she burns three books, and asks the original price for the six books; again the king refuses and again she burns three books, finally receiving from the king the price demanded for the nine. Cf. *AL* iii. 465. In *Ant. R.* 41, iv. 489-90 (i. 704), the Sibyl raises the price as she diminishes the offer.

**7-9. Occasion . . . taken:** Tilley T311, 'Take Time (Occasion) by the forelock, for she is bold behind'; Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1551), s.v. 'Nosce tempus'; *Ant. R.* 41. An immensely popular 'Common verse' (used by Shakespeare, Spenser, Dekker, Tourneur, Chapman, *inter alios*; see the emblem, with woodblock and verses, in Geoffrey Witney, *A Choice of Emblems* (Leiden, 1586), Z3. The engraved title-page of a Latin translation of the essays, *Sermones Fideles* (Leiden, 1641), portrays Bacon pointing out Occasio to three men in period attire. See Gibson, No. 51.

**9-11. turneth . . . claspe:** *Ant. R.* 41, iv. 489 (i. 704).

**12-13. Dangers . . . light:** *Ant. R.* 43, iv. 490 (i. 705).

**13-14. more . . . them:** *ibid.*

**14-16. meet . . . Approaches:** cf. *ibid.*, 'It is less trouble to apply the remedy to a danger than to keep watch upon the approach of it'; 'He that arms himself to meet danger teaches it to come on, and in remedying it fixes it'.

**18-20. As . . . time:** Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Lives*, 3M5<sup>v</sup>:

Now it was not so darke but they [the Persians] could somewhat see, for the moone that was very low and upon her setting, gave light enough to discern the body of a man: yet bicause the moone was very low, the shadow which gave out further farre then their bodies, came almost even to their very enemies, which did let them that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was betwene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their dartes at the Romanes, but they hurte never a man, for their bodies were a great way from them.

**21-2. teach . . . them:** cf. *Ant. R.* 41, iv. 490 (i. 704), 'While we hasten to take hold of the beginnings of things, we grasp shadows'. 'Buckling towards them' alludes to the fastening on of armour in



preparation for battle (*OED*, s.v. 2b) and seems to have been suggested by the battle scene in Plutarch, just quoted.

**22. Ripeness, or Unripenesse:** cf. *King Lear*, V. ii. 11, 'Ripeness is all'.

**24-6. commit . . . Hands:** cf. *Ant. R.* 41, iv. 490 (i. 704), 'Commit the beginnings of actions to Argus, the end to Briareus'; 'While things are wavering, watch; when they have taken their direction, act'. Juno set Argus, with his hundred eyes, to watch over Io; when he was killed at Jupiter's command, she turned him into a peacock, his eyes still visible in its tail (Ovid, *Met.* i. 622-9, 722-30). Briareus, a giant with one hundred hands, was sent to aid Jupiter against the Titans (Hesiod, *Theog.* 147 ff.; Homer, *Iliad*, i. 396-9). Cf. XV. 170-3.

**27-8. Helmet . . . Celerity:** Perseus wore Pluto's helmet rendering him invisible when he slew the Gorgon Medusa (Homer, *Iliad*, v. 845). Cf. *Wisdom*, 'Perseus or War', vi. 714 (741), 'Perseus received arms and gifts from three several gods. Mercury gave him wings for his feet; Pluto gave him a helmet; Pallas, a shield and a mirror'; 716 (642), 'The equipment of Perseus is of that kind which is everything in war, and almost ensures success; for he received swiftness from Mercury, secrecy of counsel from Pluto, and providence from Pallas'; *De Aug.* iv. 327-32 (i. 530-4). A good instance of Bacon's development of mythic material: the passage combines the power of Mercury's wings (celerity) with Pluto's helmet (secrecy); found in an earlier state in *Promus*, fo. 97<sup>v</sup>, 'Plutoes Helmett; Secresy Invisibility'; *Ant. R.* 41, iv. 490 (i. 704), 'Speed is Pluto's helmet'.

## XXII. 'Of Cunning' (pp. 69-73)

**6. packe the Cards:** i.e. prepare the cards in order to cheat. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xiv. 18-19; 'Speech concerning the Undertakers' (1614), xii. 45, 'the King were better call for a new pair of cards, than play upon these if they be packed'; Tilley C78.

**7. Canvasses:** *OED* cites this as the earliest occurrence, meaning 'vote solicitations', but deems the quotation 'obscure'; Reynolds suggests plausibly 'intrigues' and quotes 'Advice Touching the Calling of Parliament' (1613), xi. 372, 'Also there be no brigues nor canvasses, whereof I hear too much'. Cf. also Bacon's use of the term in his letters, viz. to Tobie Matthew (1603), x. 73, 'the canvassing world is gone, and the deserving world is come' (speaking of the accession of King James), and letter to Buckingham (1616), xiii. 7, 'money, and turn-serving, and cunning canvasses, and importunity prevail too much'.

**10-11. perfect . . . Businesse:** cf. *Promus*, fo. 85, 'Cunying in the humors of persons but not in condicōns of actions'; the 'hollow Statesman' in 'Device', viii. 382, 'Let him not trouble himself too labouriously to sound into any matter deeply, or to execute anything exactly; but let him make himself cunning rather in the humours and drifts of persons than in the nature of business and affairs'.



14-15. own Alley: . . . Ayme: Wright quotes Gervase Markham, *Countrie Contentments* (1615), P2<sup>v</sup>-P3, 'There is another recreation, . . . and that is bowling in which a man shall finde great art in choosing out his ground, and preventing the winding, hanging, and many turning advantages of the same, whether it bee in open wilde [wide 1631] places, or in close allies'. Bowls is a frequent source of political metaphor in Bacon: see XXIII. 29-30; 'Notes for Advice to Buckingham' (1623/4), xiv. 445.

16-17. Mitte . . . videbis: 'Send both naked to strangers and you shall see.' Attributed to 'One of the philosophers' in *Apoph.* vii. 161; Wright cites Aristippus in Diog. Laert. ii. 73 (here quoted in a Renaissance Latin version).

20-1. wait . . . eye: cf. *AL* iii. 368.

21. As the Jesuites . . . precept: cf. *Regulae Societatis Jesu: Regulae Modestiae* (1555), '[3] xxxiii. Oculi ut plurimum sint demissi, neque conversi in hanc aut illam partem; ac tunc maxime cum erit sermo cum veneranda aliqua persona, in eius vultum non figantur, sed ut plurimum aliquanto inferius', 'Eyes should be normally turned downward and not turned here and there; and then especially when there be speech with any respected person, he should not gaze in his face, but normally a little bit lower' (in *Monumenta Historica Societatis*, ed. D. F. Zapico, SJ, 3rd ser. [Rome, 1948], 520-1). (I am indebted to John L. Klause for this reference.) Bacon may have known of such rules through Tobie Matthew, who was ordained a Jesuit in 1614 and had sent a copy of the general rules of the Society to Viscount Doncaster and John Donne in 1619 (British Library, MS Egerton 2592, fos. 237-8; cited by J. P. Feil, 'Bacon-Shakespeare: The Tobie Matthew Postscript', *SQ* 18 [1967], 76 n. 13).

22-3. many . . . Countenances: cf. VI. 62-6.

29-30. I knew . . . Secretary: probably Sir Francis Walsingham (? 1530-90), appointed one of the principal secretaries and member of the Privy Council in 1573, sole secretary in 1577. He maintained a network of intelligencers in foreign countries (including Bacon's brother, Anthony) who reported to him directly. Of his cunning his near contemporaries remarked, 'a most subtile searcher of hidden secrets' (William Camden, *Annales* [1635], 2K4<sup>v</sup>), and 'They note him to have certain curtesies and secret wayes of intelligence above the rest' (Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* [1641]; quoted (inaccurately) in C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* [Oxford, 1925], ii. 340-1). Bacon sought his aid for a suit to the queen in 1585 (viii. 57) and may have written a draft letter to France for him explaining the treatment of English Catholics (viii. 101). For the technique mentioned in the essay, compare the unpublished manuscript 'Instructions for a Principall Secretarie . . . 1592' (see XX. 60), 'When her highnes signeth, it shalbe good to entertaine her with some relacōn or speech whereat shee may take some pleasure', in *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, i. 438.

38-9. let . . . well: cf. XLIX. 16-18.

49-50. And . . . King: Neh. 2: 1-2.

52. breake the Ice: Tilley 13.

69. found with a Letter: cf. Edmund's gulling of his father in *King Lear*, I. ii.

75-6. two, . . . Secretaries Place: Spedding (in Wright) nominates Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613). Bodley returned to England from service as permanent resident in the United Provinces with the hope of obtaining the post; like Bacon, he was enthusiastically and unsuccessfully backed by Essex. Cecil was sworn in as Principal Secretary on 5 July 1596. Bodley did not resume his diplomatic duties and refused the Secretary's post in 1604/5 when offered by the then Lord Treasurer, Cecil, turning his attention instead to scholarship and the establishment of the library at Oxford which bears his name.

See Bacon's letter to him with a presentation copy of *AL* (x. 253). See XLVIII n. for Cecil.

88. Turning . . . Pan: Singer conjectures that 'Cat' represents a corruption of 'Cate': 'The allusion is probably to the dexterous turning or *shifting the side* of a *pancake* by a sleight of hand familiar to cooks.' *OED* s.v. 'cat', 12) rejects such an etymology as inconsistent with the history of 'cate'. Whatever the specific origins of the phrase, and *OED* deems them unknown, the proverb was popular (Tilley C172), and no emendation of 25 is necessary. The general meaning of the proverb is clear enough in context: 'to turn the cat in the pan' is to reverse a situation to one's own advantage. In 38 (*Latin*) there is an expression of befuddlement at the phrase ('quod *Anglico* proverbio, *Felem in Aheno vertere*, satis absurde dicitur', '. . . which is stated in the English proverb rather absurdly'), suggesting that this essay may not have been translated by Bacon himself.

95-7. Se . . . spectare: 'He himself did not have a concern for conflicting hopes, but simply for the safety of the emperor.' Paraphrase of Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 57, 'Non se, ut Burrum, diversas spes, sed solam incolumitatem Neronis spectare'. Spoken after the death in AD 62 of Nero's sometime tutor and advisor, Sextus Aranius Burrus, by Tigellinus, a man of low birth and morals who encouraged Nero in his worst excesses.

112. walking in Pauls: the main aisle of St Paul's served as a meeting-place and promenade for business and pleasure. See Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, iii. 1; Dekker, 'How a gallant should behave himself in Paul's Walks', *The Guls Horne-book* (1607); and Chamberlain's bitter complaint, *Letters*, i. 171, at the loss of his prime source of gossip when the doors were ordered closed during service time for a brief period in 1602.

119-20. Resorts and Falls of Busnesse: i.e. the beginnings and endings, starting-points and conclusions (see the simile in lines 120-2).

125-6. Wits of direction: i.e. minds fitted to direct, not merely debate matters.

127. Putting Tricks upon them: Tilley T521; *The Tempest*, II. ii. 57-8, 'Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon 's with salvages and men of Inde?'

129. *Prudens . . . ad Dolos*: 'The prudent man directs his attention to his own steps; the foolish turns aside to deceits.' Reynolds suggests that memory has conflated two Vulgate passages, Prov. 14: 8 and 15. Cf. *Observations on a Libel*, viii. 202, 'For all the world noted Sir Nicholas Bacon to be a man plain, direct, and constant, without all fineness or doubleness; and one that was of the mind that a man in his private proceedings, and a state in the proceedings of state, should rest upon the soundness and strength of their own courses, and not upon practice to circumvent others; according to the sentence of Salomon, . . .'.

### XXIII. 'Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe' (pp. 73-5)

4-6. *An Ant . . . Publique*: cf. *AL* iii. 454.

7-8. *true . . . Others*: Vickers, p. 279, compares Bacon's 'Device', viii. 383, 'To conclude, let him be true to himself, and avoid all tedious reaches of state that are not merely pertinent to his particular'. The position of this 'hollow Statesman' is rejected by Bacon's spokesman, the Squire, along with that of the other two speakers 'enchanting orators of Philautia [self-love], the Hermit (knowledge) and the Soldier (Fame)'. Abbott compares the advice of another 'Statesman', Polonius, *Hamlet*, I. iii. 78-80.

10. *right Earth*: 'truly of the earth' (*OED*, s.v. 17a). The contrast is between the fixed singularity of the earth and the moving interdependence of the spheres (lines 11-13) in the Ptolemaic system.

29-32. *set . . . Affairs*: i.e. 'as the bias diverts the bowl from the straight course so the private ends of the selfish servant subvert the goal of the master'.

29-30. *set . . . Bowle*: 'give an emphasis to cause the bowl to run obliquely' (*OED*, s.v. 2b).

42. *Wisedome of Rats*: cf. Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607), 3A2, 'It is also very certaine that Mice which live in a house, if they perceive by the age of it, it be ready to fall downe or subject to any other ruin, they foreknow it and depart out of it'. Cf. Aubrey, p. 12, 'Upon his [Bacon] being in Dis-favour his Servants suddenly went away; he compared them to the flying of the Vermin when the Howse was falling'.

44. *Wisedome of the Fox*: cf. *ibid.*, D5<sup>v</sup>, 'The wily Foxe never maketh a Denne for himselfe, but finding a badgers cave, in her absence, layeth his excrement at the hole of the denne, the which when the Gray [badger] returneth, if she smell (as the savour is strong) she forbeareth to enter as noisome, and so leaveth her elaborate house to the Fox'.

45-6. *Wisedome of Crocodiles*: cf. Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents* (1608), N2, 'The common proverbe also, *Crocodili lachrimæ*, the crocodiles teares [Tilley C381], justifieth the treacherous nature of this beast, for there are not many brute beasts that can weepe, but

such is the nature of the Crocodile, that to get a man within his danger, he will sob, sigh and weepe, as though he were in extremitie, but suddenly he destroyeth him'.

48. Sui . . . Rivali: 'Lovers of themselves without rival.' From Cicero, *Ad Quint. Frat.* iii. 8. 4, 'quam se ipse amans sine rivali'.

### XXIII. 'Of Innovations' (pp. 75-6)

3. As . . . shapen: *Ant. R.* 40, iv. 489 (i. 703).

4. Innovations, . . . Time: cf. 'Temporis Partus Masculus [Masculine Birth of Time]' (c.1608), iii. 527-39, an invective upon philosophical innovations.

7-8. first . . . Imitation: *Ant. R.* 40, loc. cit. Cf. XIII. 36-9.

9-10. Naturall . . . Motion: Reynolds exemplifies the former with the fall of a heavy body and the latter with the flight of an arrow, and notes that Bacon ridicules the distinction in his scientific writings, iii. 118, 777.

10-12. every . . . Innovatour: translated, in order, from the first three entries of *Ant. R.* 40, loc. cit.

13-15. if Time, . . . End: *ibid.*

13. of course: 'by its course.'

15-16. settled . . . fit: *Ant. R.* 40, loc. cit.

22. Time . . . round: cf. *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 376, 'whirligig of time'.

23-4. Froward . . . Innovation: *Ant. R.* 40, loc. cit.

24-5. Reverence . . . New: cf. *ibid.*, 'The slaves of custom are the sport of time'.

25-8. It . . . perceived: *ibid.*, 'What innovator imitates time, who so insinuates his innovations that they are not perceived?'

29-30. mends . . . Other: *ibid.*, 'There is no novelty that does not some hurt, for it unsettles what is'. Wright compares Matt. 9: 16, 'No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an olde garment: for that which is put in to fill it up, taketh from the garment and the rent is made worse'.

30-2. holpen, . . . Author: *Ant. R.* 40, loc. cit., 'That which comes unlooked for gets the less thanks from him whom it helps, and gives the more annoyance to him whom it hurts'.

38-40. make . . . it: paraphrase of Jer. 6: 16, 'Stand ye in the wayes and see, and aske for the old paths, where is the good way, and walke therein, and ye shall finde rest for your soules'. Cf. *AL* iii. 290-1.

### XXV. 'Of Dispatch' (pp. 76-8)

3. Affected Dispatch: i.e. preoccupation with haste can retard genuine progress; cf. below, lines 13-14 n.

12. come off . . . time: i.e. give the appearance of immediate progress.



13-14. *seeme Men of Dispatch*: cf. Bacon's observations on judicial dispatch, xiii. 190-1.

14-15. *Contracting*, . . . *Cutting off*: the distinction is between shortening deliberations by focusing upon the principal points of the issue or shortening them by omitting points, some of which may prove material, simply to gain time; the former requires careful preparation.

18-19. *Stay* . . . *sooner*: recorded in *Promus*, fo. 85; attributed in *Apoph.* vii. 136 to Sir Amias Paulet (see XVIII. 19-20 n.). Cf. Tilley H192, 'Make haste slowly'.

20-1. *Time* . . . *Busnesse*: cf. Tilley T329, 'Time is money' (earliest citation); *ODEP* cites T. Wilson, *A Discourse upon Usury* (1572), and Diogenes Laertius, V. ii. 10. 40.

22. *at a deare Hand*: 'at a costly rate.'

23. *Spartans*: Singer cites Thucyd. i. 84, 'As for the slacknesse and procrastination, wherewith wee are reproached by the Confederates, bee never ashamed of it; for the more haste you make to the Warre, you will bee the longer before you end it, for that you goe to it unprovided' (trans. T. Hobbes [1629], G2<sup>v</sup>).

24. *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna*: Bacon elsewhere quotes the proverb in Italian ('Report of a Speech' [1606/7], x. 351).

33-4. *Moderator* . . . *Actor*: i.e. judge and pleader (*OED*, s.v. 2); cf. above, line 13-14; LVI. 57-8. Bacon's remarks, however, fit any meeting or assembly in which discussion is to be moderated.

39. *Robe* . . . *Race*: cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 46:

His [Genius] looser garment to the ground did fall,  
And flew about his heeles in wanton wize  
Not fit for speedy pace, or manly exercise.

See also *Ant. R.* 27, iv. 483 (i. 699), 'Wisdom is like a garment, it must be light if it be for speed'.

40. *Prefaces*, . . . *Excusations*: *OED*, s.v. 14b, defines 'passage' as 'a turn aside; a digression' (earliest citation); 'Excusations' are 'excuses; apologies'—in Bacon's view, all time-serving (lines 41-2) even as they are time-wasting. See his disclaimer in a speech of 1607, 'preface I will use none' (x. 307).

41. *to the Person*: i.e. the speaker.

43. *too Materiall*: i.e. too direct. Bacon reminds himself in his 1608 notebook, 'Not to fall upon the mayne to sodayne but to induce and intermingle speech of good fashon' (xi. 93).

47-8. *Order*, . . . *Parts*: such *partitio* is a hallmark of Bacon's own speeches; for Parliamentary examples, see x. 183 (1604) and x. 309 (1606-7); and Vickers, *passim*.

48-9. *not too subtile*: cf. XXVI. 29-32.

52. *Unseasonable Motion* . . . *Ayre*: a poorly timed proposition is wasted effort (with pun on 'Motion').

59. *pregnant of Direction*: 'suggestive' (Abbott).

60. *Ashes* . . . *Dust*: cf. the experiments on compost in *Sylva*, ii. 525-6.



## XXVI. 'Of Seeming wise' (pp. 78-80)

4. **Spaniards seeme wiser:** cf. Tilley S703, 'Talk much and err much, says the Spaniard'.

6-7. **Having . . . thereof:** 2 Tim. 3: 5.

9. **doe . . . solemnly:** Reynolds notes that Bacon considered both Sir Henry Hobart (d. 1625) and Sir Robert Cecil as two such 'Formalists' in their respective roles as Attorney-General and Lord Treasurer. Cf. 'Reasons for the Remove of Coke' (1613), xi. 381, 'the attorney sorteth not so well with his present place, being a man timid and scrupulous both in parliament and in other business, and one that in a word was made fit for the late Lord Treasurer's bent [i.e. Cecil], which was to do little with much formality and protestation', and his private strictures in 1608 upon Hobart as Attorney, 'To full of cases and distinctions | Nibbling solemnly | he distinguisheth but apprehendes not' (xi. 51), and in a note to a passage criticizing Hobart entitled 'Hubb. disadvant.': 'Solemne goose. stately least wyse nodd[?] [i.e. noddy, a fool] crafty. They have made him beleieve he is wondrous wy[?se]' (92).

9-10. **Magno conatu Nugas:** 'Trifles with great effort.' Terence, *Heauton Timoroumenos* [*The Self-Tormentour*], line 621.

12. **Prospectives, . . . Body:** perspective glasses or optical devices capable of lending the illusion of depth to a two-dimensional surface (*superficies*). Cf. *Sylva*, ii. 381, 'And such superficial speculations they have; like perspectives, that shew things inward, when they are but paintings'.

22-4. **Respondes, . . . non placere:** 'You answer with one eyebrow raised to your forehead and the other depressed to your chin that "cruelty is not acceptable to you".' Cicero, *In Pis.* vi. 14. Piso is being charged with misgovernment in Macedonia.

25. **take by admittance:** i.e. assume to be valid and sanctioned that which cannot be proven.

31. **A. Gellius:** Not Aulus Gellius, but Quintilian (Markby). Bacon appears to have confused the negative remarks of Gellius on Seneca (*Noct. Attic.* xii. 2) with those of Quintilian (*De Instit. Orat.* X. i. 130); paraphrased in lines 31-2.

31-2. **Hominem . . . Pondera:** 'A madman who breaks up weighty matters with verbal niceties.' Cf. *AL* iii. 286.

33-4. **Prodicus, . . . distinctions:** *Protag.* 337.

## XXVII. 'Of Frendship' (pp. 80-7)

This complete rewriting of the earlier version of the essay (*H51*, 12b-24; reproduced in full in the Historical Collation) was suggested by Tobie Matthew: 'It is not for nothing that I have deferred my essay *De Amicitia*, whereby it hath expected the proof of your great friendship

towards me' (March 1621/2, xiv. 344) and 'For the essay of friendship, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request I took my promise for a compliment. But since you call for it I shall perform it' (June 1623, xiv. 429). See the Textual Introduction, p. lxxxix n. 82.

**5-6. Whosoever . . . God:** Markby compares Aristotle, *Pol.* I. i. 12, 'a man who is incapable of entering into partnership, or who is so self-sufficing that he has not need to do so, is no part of a state, so that he must be either a lower animal or a god' (Loeb). Bacon condemns Aristotle's defence of the contemplative life (in *Nicom. Eth.* x. 7) as selfish: 'But men must know, that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and Angels to be lookers on' (*AL* iii. 421).

**11-13. Higher Conversation: . . . Heathen:** the concept of feigned solitude for political utility derives from Bacon's reading of Plutarch's life of Numa Pompilius (King of the Romans, c.715-673 BC), extended to apply to the other mystics in the list:

it was not for any straungenes, or melancholines of nature, that *Numa* withdrew him self from the conversation and company of men, but bicause he had found another more honorable and holy society of the *Nymphe*, and goddesse *Egeria*. . . . For my selfe, I doe finde, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other suche persones, not to be without likelyhood and probabilitie: who having to governe rude, churlishe, and stiffe necked people, and purposing to bring in straunge novelties into the governments of their countries, did fayne wisely to have conference with the godds, considering this fayning fell to be profitable and beneficiall to those them selves, whom they made to beleewe the same. (F4<sup>v</sup>-F5)

**13. Epimenides the Candian:** a teacher and miracle-worker of Crete (fl. c.600-c.500 BC). Both his solitude and 'conversation' were involuntary. He received prophetic powers upon awakening from a sleep of fifty-seven years in a cave to which he had gone seeking his lost sheep (Diog. Laert. I. x. 109-15).

**14. Empedocles the Sicilian:** philosopher and poet (c.493-c.433 BC), he claimed divine powers. Diogenes Laertius records an episode in which he heard divine voices (viii. 68) and relates a version of his death in which, seeking to confirm the rumour that he had become a god, he threw himself into the crater of Etna; his bronze slippers betrayed him when they bubbled to the top (69).

**14-15. Apollonius of Tyana:** a wandering ascetic and teacher in the early Christian era, his travels and miraculous powers were detailed in a hagiography by Philostratus (see XIX. 36). St Jerome, himself an exemplary Christian hermit (line 16), mentions him in the prefatory letter to the Vulgate.

**19-20. Tinckling Cymball, . . . no Love:** 1 Cor. 13: 1 (Geneva; 'charity', AV). Cf. *AL* iii. 266.

**20-1. Magna . . . solitudo:** 'Great city, great solitude.' Recorded in *Promus*, fo. 89; Tilley C398 (earliest citation); Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1551), p. 476, attributes this to Strabo (Singer).

**32-3. Diseases . . . Suffocations:** Reynolds notes that pathological similes are frequent in Bacon.

**51-3. Favorites, . . . Curarum:** cf. 'Advice to Villiers', xiii. 27-8.

**53. Participes Curarum:** 'sharers of cares.' Wright compares Tiberius' description of Sejanus as 'socium laborum' (Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 2) and quotes Dio Cassius, lviii. 4; Bacon used a Latin Dio; cf. *Epitome Dionis*, trans. I. Xiphilini (1592), li, 'socium et participem consiliorum suorum: saepe id dicere, Sejanus meus', 'Comrade and participant in his plans: he often called him, my Sejanus'.

**61. L. Sylla:** Lucius Cornelius Felix Sulla, Roman dictator, 83-78 BC. Bacon's spelling appears in his source, North's Plutarch.

**61-2. Pompey . . . the Great:** Gnaeus Pompeius, 106-48 BC ('Magnus' after 81 BC).

**67-8. Men . . . setting:** Bacon conflates two incidents in Plutarch: Pompey's retort as he demanded a triumph for himself (3L6<sup>v</sup>) and his acquisition of a consulship for Marcus Lepidus against the wishes of Sulla (3M1). Cf. *AL* iii. 449. A marginal note in North calls attention to this quotation, 'Pompeis stowt aunswere unto Sylla'.

**76-7. till . . . better Dreame:** Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Julius Caesar', 3X1.

**79. Venefica, Witch:** Cicero, *Phil.* xiii. 11 (referring to D. Brutus) (lit. 'a she-poisoner').

**83-5. must . . . so great:** Dio Cassius, liv. 6 (Markby); *Epitome Dionis* (1592), g2. In 21 BC, Agrippa was ordered to divorce his wife, Marcella (niece of Augustus), return to Rome to marry Julia, and act as the emperor's representative in the city.

**88. Hæc . . . occultavi:** 'These things I have not hidden, given our friendship.' Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 40. Lucius Aelius Sejanus rose from commander of the Praetorian Guard to be the most powerful advisor of Tiberius. The sentence appears in a letter in which the emperor candidly warns Sejanus of the opposition that his plan to wed the widow of Tiberius' son will engender.

**89. Senate, . . . Frenship:** Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 74. The account of the dedication is distinctly negative in Tacitus, who brands it as sycophancy at a time when the Senate should be considering pressing State problems. For the dramatic end to the relationship, see XXXVI. 29-30 n.

**91-4. Septimius . . . Son:** Septimius Severus, emperor AD 193-211, allowed great power to Plautianus, also a Praetorian commander, even forcing his own son Antoninus to marry his daughter.

**95-6. I love . . . me:** Dio Cassius, lxxvi. 15 (*Epitome* [1592], 2e3); Antoninus later plotted successfully to have Plautianus killed (*ibid.*, lxxxvi. 4).

**97. Trajan:** Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, emperor AD 98-117. Cf. Pliny, *Panegyric, Epist.* x; *AL* iii. 304, 'he deserveth to be placed amongst the most learned princes: for there was not a greater admirer of learning or benefactor of learning'.

**Marcus Aurelius:** emperor with L. Verus AD 161; sole emperor AD 169-80; author of stoic *Meditations*.

**107. Commineus:** Philippe de Commines (c.1446–c.1511), French diplomat and historian.

**108. Duke Charles the Hardy:** Charles the Bold, last Duke of Burgundy (1467–77). Cf. *The Historie of Philip de Commines* (trans. Thomas Danett [1596]), '[after his defeat at Morat in 1476], his wits were never so fresh as before, but much weakned and decaied' (P4<sup>v</sup>). Commines recommends prayer, exercise, and:

some familiar friend, to reveale boldly unto him all our passions, and not to be ashamed to utter our greefe to our deere friend: for that easeth and comforteth the minde, and by talking thus in counsell with a faithfull friend, the spirits recover their former vertue and strength. . . . But the Duke tooke the cleane contrary course, for he hid himselfe and kept himselfe solitary; wheras he should have put to flight al such melancholike austerity. Further, bicause he was a terrible Prince to his servants, none durst presume to give him counsell or comfort, but suffered him to follow his owne sense. (ibid.)

**114–15. Lewis the Eleventh, . . . Tormentour:** Louis XI, King of France (1461–83). Commines indicates that his fear of assassination became so great that he had iron grates constructed and stayed behind them in a few rooms of his castle:

Thinke you that he was not in feare as well as others, seeing he locked himselfe in after this sort, kept himselfe thus close, stood in such feare of his children and nearest kinsmen, and changed and remooved his servants from day to day, whom he had brought up and whose good estate depended wholly upon him, in such sort that he durst trust none of them, but bound himselfe in these strange chaines and bands? (ibid., X5)

**115–16. Parable of Pythagoras:** 'Eat not thy heart; that is to say, offend not thine own soule, nor hurt and consume it with pensive cares'. Plutarch, *Morals*, B2 (Markby).

**128. Stone:** the so-called 'Philosopher's Stone', a substance believed by alchemists to possess the power of transmuting base metals into gold; also associated with an elixir to prolong life and cure wounds and diseases (*OED*). See the critique in *Sylva*, ii. 448.

**130. praying in Aid:** 'calling upon.'

**131–4. For in Bodies, . . . Minds:** i.e. in inanimate bodies. The version in *12b* is less opaque: 'in bodies inanimate, union strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst men, friendship multiplieth joies, and divideth griefes'.

**150–2. speech . . . Packs:** cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Themistocles', M4:

*Themistocles* then aunswered him. That mens wordes did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a pece of arras: for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene,



when they are unfolded and layed open. Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut up, and close folded.

See *Apoph.* vii. 153. The distinction between speech and thought is Bacon's amplification. In Plutarch, Themistocles is asking for time to learn Persian so that he can speak without an interpreter; the metaphor is singled out in the marginal note: 'An excellent comparison of Themistocles'.

**163-4. Heraclitus . . . the best:** cf. *Apoph.* vii. 163, 'Heraclitus the Obscure [fl. c.500 BC] said: *The dry light was the best soul.* Meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor, as it were, blooded by the affections'. Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Romulus', D2 (marginal note: 'Heraclitus saying of the soule'); *AL* iii. 266-7; *Wisdom*, vi. 754 (677); *Nov. Org.* iv. 57 (i. 167).

**171-2. no . . . Selfe:** cf. X. 28-30; LIII. 22-3.

**172-3. no . . . Frend:** Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, H2, ' . . . where there is not this freedome of speaking frankly, there is no true friendship nor generositie in deed' (from 'How a man may discerne a flatterer from a friend').

**186-8. Men, . . . Favour:** paraphrase of Jas. 1: 23, 'For if any be a hearer of the word and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his naturall face in a glasse: For hee beholdeth himselfe, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what maner of man he was'.

**189-90. Gamester . . . Looker on:** cf. XLVIII. 51-2 n.

**190-2. Man in Anger, . . . Letters:** Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, 2O5<sup>v</sup>; cf. XXVIII. 18-19. The twenty-six-character alphabet (adding *j* and *u*) was not general until 'after 1630' (*OED*).

**192-3. Musket . . . Rest:** the size and weight of Renaissance muskets required a forked prop to keep the barrell level and steady (*OED*, s.v. 'rest', 11a).

**225. a Frend . . . Himselfe:** a commonplace; Reynolds finds it in Aristotle, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Cicero; Tilley F696 ('one's second self'). Bacon so characterizes Tobie Matthew in a letter of 1623 to Buckingham (xiv. 423).

**244. but upon Termes:** cf. *Charge touching Duels*, xi. 403, ' . . . it should make no difference between an insidious and foul murder, and the killing of a man upon far terms, as they now call it'.

## XXVIII. 'Of Expence' (pp. 87-8)

There is something of wishful thinking in Bacon's strictures on the sound management of one's estate, for he was plagued with money problems all his life. The sudden death of his father before he had arranged for his son's financial security left him in a constant battle with debts which was exacerbated by the flamboyant style which he adopted when he was at last in power. In 1598, the year after this essay was first published, he was arrested for debt while on the Queen's business (ix. 106-8). See XLI n. for additional details on his finances.



3. **Riches are for Spending:** cf. Tilley M1071, 'Money, like dung, does no good till it is spread'.

4-5. **Extraordinary . . . Occasion:** i.e. the amount determined by the specific event, not by an ordinary budget. Aphorism 68 in *Flores Regii* . . . *Spoken by his Most Excellent Maiestie, James* (1627), D8<sup>v</sup>-E1<sup>v</sup>, elaborates this sentence and the final one of the essay.

9. **subject . . . Abuse of Servants:** see the anecdote (recorded in 1691) of servants who pilfered freely from Bacon's money drawer, even in his presence (xiv. 563-4).

18. **Wounds . . . without Searching:** in 97*a* set in italics as if a quotation, but not in Tilley or *ODEP*.

19-20. **Choose well, . . . change them often:** Reynolds quotes Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata* (1693), Pt. I (F4<sup>v</sup>), which suggests that Buckingham's frequent change of his servants resulted in 'bad Instruments; for they made too much haste to [be] Rich, because they knew their Turn was quickly coming to be shifted'.

22-3. **turne all to Certainties:** i.e. establish a detailed budget which mandates specific amounts for customary expenditures.

25-6. **Diet, . . . Hall:** Abbott suggests a distinction here between the master's meals and those of the servants' hall, but 'in the Hall' no doubt includes all of the charges of hospitality in the main hall of a great house; as in 'Of Building' (XLV), Bacon writes with the nobility in mind.

27-8. **Plentifull . . . Decay:** see XLI n. for Bacon's experience.

30-1. **hasty Selling . . . Interest:** money borrowed upon interest is seen as a hedge against selling in a bad market in XLI. 53-8.

31-2. **he . . . relapse:** cf. XXXVIII. 22-3.

39-40. **Matters, that returne not:** i.e. unique situations in which the expenditure will not be repeated.

## XXIX. 'Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates' (pp. 89-99)

This version, a substantial revision and expansion of 12*b*, was published first in Latin in *De Aug.* (1623) as an 'Example of a Summary Treatise touching the Extension of Empire' (v. 79-87; i. 793-802). Aubrey, pp. 149-50, suggests that the translation, which he mis-titles 'Of the Greatnes of Cities', was by Thomas Hobbes. The Latin title, 'De Proferendis Finibus Imperii', retained in 38 (*Latin*), catches the emphasis of the revised essay: 'True Greatnesse of Kingdomes' derives from a unified national spirit and an active expansion of boundaries. For the evolution of Bacon's thought on this subject in response to changing events, see 'Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain', vii. 47-64 (the germ of the essay); the observations under 'Policy' in the 1608 notebook, xi. 74-5; the 'Speech concerning General Naturalization [of the Scots]' (1607), x. 307-25; *Advertisement touching an Holy War* (1622), vii. 11-36; and J. M. Patrick, 'Hawk versus Dove: Francis Bacon's

Advocacy of a Holy War by James I against the Turks', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 4 (April 1971), 159-71.

5. **Themistocles the Athenian**: Athenian statesman (c.528-c.462 BC), chief architect of the victory over Persia.

8-10. **He could not fiddle, . . . Citty**: Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Themistocles', L2<sup>v</sup>; cf. *AL* iii. 280.

26. **Negotiis pares**: 'equal to the business'—and no more. Rated as the fourth and lowest degree of '*Honour in Subjects*' in LV. 56-7. Tacitus uses the phrase to describe Poppaeus Sabinus (*Ann.* vi. 39) and Petronius Arbiter (*Ann.* xvi. 18) (Singer). Cf. Bacon's critique of Robert Cecil's performance as Lord Treasurer, XLIII n.

26-7. **Able to manège Affaires**: the metaphor of control is from the *manège*. Cf. VI. 27-8; *AL* iii. 423.

32-4. **An Argument, . . . hand**: a principal function of the revised *Essayes or Counsels*. Cf. the final sentence below: 'But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance.'

45-7. **Kingdome . . . Mustard-seed**: Mark 4: 30-2 (Geneva). Cf. 'Britain', vii. 49; 'General Naturalization', x. 323.

55. **Sheep in a Lions Skin**: cf. Tilley W614, 'A wolf in a lamb's skin' (cf. Matt. 7: 15).

59. **never . . . be**: paraphrase of Virgil, *Eclogues*, vii. 51-2, 'hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora, quantum, | aut numerum lupus aut torrentia flumina ripas', 'here we care as much for the frigid winds of Boreas as the wolf the number [of the sheep] or the rushing rivers its banks'.

60-4. **The Armie . . . Victory**: Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alexander', 3Q4-3Q4<sup>v</sup>; *AL* iii. 310. Alexander defeated the Persians led by Darius III in 331 BC.

65. **Tigranes**: King of Armenia (c.94-55 BC), defeated by Lucullus in 69 BC.

68-9. **Yonder Men, . . . Fight**: Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lucullus', 3A7<sup>v</sup>.

75. **Money the Sinewes of Warre**: Tilley M1067; a classical commonplace. A passage in 'Britain', vii. 55, indicates that Bacon's argument derives from Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 20 (Gilbert, i. 349); cf. also, 'Speech concerning Naturalization', x. 323-4.

78-9. **Sir, . . . Gold**: Solon (c.640/635-c.561/560 BC), Athenian statesman and lawgiver; Croesus (c.560-546 BC), last King of Lydia, his wealth proverbial. See 'Britain', vii. 55; *Apoph.* vii. 151; Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 10 (Gilbert, i. 350), is again Bacon's source.

87-8. **Hee . . . after**: the metaphor is Bacon's, but the thought derives from Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 20 (Gilbert, i. 382); *Principe*, xii (Gilbert, i. 47).

89-91. **Blessing . . . Burthens**: Gen. 49: 9, 14. Jacob predicts the individual blessings of his sons: Judah, the warrior ('Lions whelp') and Issachar, the patient servant ('Asse between Burthens').

95. **Excises of the Low Countries**: cf. XIII. 15-18. Wright quotes a letter by James Howell from Amsterdam c.1619 (published 1645) which details 'the monstrous Excises which are impos'd upon all sorts

of Commodities, both for Belly and Back' and notes that 'few complain because the excises go towards maintaining armies against the Spanish threat' (*Familiar Letters*, ed. Jacobs [1890], i. 30).

96. **Subsidies of England:** i.e. the subsidies voted by Parliament. There was growing resistance in the Commons to approve funds before grievances were addressed. In 1614 the Parliament was dissolved angrily by the King before supply had been voted and an unpopular attempt at collecting a voluntary benevolence was undertaken. Cf. Bacon's letter of advice (1615), which reviewed past Parliaments and made suggestions for a more deft handling of supply (xii. 176-91).

103. **Nobility . . . fast:** cf. XIII. 25-9 n.; XV. 132-8.

111-12. **Infantry, . . . Army:** Reynolds compares Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 18 (Gilbert, i. 373-7).

118-20. **device . . . History:** see *Henry 7*, vi. 94-5.

128. **Terra . . . Glebæ:** 'A land powerful in arms and richness of soil'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 531.

141-2. **Trunck . . . Monarchy:** Dan. 4: 10-26. The metaphor of the tree and the contrast between Sparta and Rome (lines 150-7) derives from Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 3 (Gilbert, i. 334-5); the biblical association is Bacon's; cf. 'Britain', vii. 52-3.

154-5. **Never . . . receive Strangers:** attributed to Machiavelli in 'A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union' (1603), x. 96; *Discorsi*, loc. cit.

159. **Jus Civitatis:** 'right of citizenship.'

160-1. **Jus Commercii, . . . Jus Honorum:** 'right of commerce, marriage, receiving property by will, . . . voting, . . . holding office.' See Bacon's discussion of these rights in 1607 with regard to the union of Scotland and England, 'A Brief Discourse', x. 97; 'Speech concerning Naturalization', x. 309; 'Case of the Post-Nati of Scotland', vii. 647-9.

170-1. **so large . . . few Naturall Spaniards:** cf. 'Considerations touching a War with Spain' (1624), xiv. 499, 'Spain is a nation thin sown of people; partly by reason of the sterility of the soil, and partly because their natives are exhausted by so many employments in such vast territories as they possess. So that hath been accounted a kind of miracle to see ten or twelve thousand native Spaniards in an army.'

177. **sometimes in their Highest Commands:** Reynolds cites Alessandro Farnese (1545-92), Duke of Parma, who was appointed military governor in the Netherlands (1578) and commanded Spanish forces against Henry IV of France, and Ambrogio Spinola (1569-1630), a Genoese, who also commanded Spanish troops in the Netherlands and against the Protestant Union in the Palatinate.

179. **Pragmaticall Sanction, now published:** the Latin translation of this passage in *De Aug.* reads 'hoc anno promulgata' and earlier editors accept Ellis' dating, 'i.e. 1622', as well as his account (based upon secondary sources) of the proclamation and his statement that it was 'plainly issued some time in the summer of 1622' (i. 798). The note is incorrect. The 1622 date apparently derives from Bacon's comment to Father Redemptus Baranzano in June 1622 that the *De Aug.* was with

the translators and 'volente Deo' would be finished at the end of summer 1622 (xiv. 376; quoted by Spedding, i. 415). The work was not entered, however, until 10 October 1623 (Arber, iv. 106), and was published with a 1623 imprint date. A Pragmatical Sanction, or royal proclamation, was issued by Philip IV early in the same year. Bacon had good reason to be aware of its existence, for an English translation was published in London in Spring 1623 as *A Proclamation for Reformation . . . Faithfully translated out of the Original Spanish* (entered 10 March 1622/3; Arber, iv. 93). The pamphlet contains the official notice of proclamation in Spain the previous month (M3<sup>v</sup>). Its twenty-three chapters mostly concern sumptuary laws (e.g. ch. 7, 'no kind of thing may be imbrodered' and 'Cloakes of Silke be not worne'), but two chapters clearly reflect Bacon's statement (line 178) that the Spanish are 'sensible of this want of Natives': ch. 19 details privileges of matrimony, including freedom from certain charges and taxes (life-time exemptions for 'he which shall have sixe male children alive') and ch. 21 deals with 'Meanes for increase of people', including restricting travel without licence and offering incentives to foreign artisans and labourers to settle in Spain (L1).

**188-9. Slaves, . . . Christian Law:** outright slavery disappeared in Western Europe by the late medieval period; the Spanish enslaved native populations in the New World and imported Negro slaves there; slaves were introduced in the Virginia colony as early as 1619. See E. S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York, 1975).

**202-4. Romulus, . . . greatest Empire:** Livy, I. xvi. 6-8. The legendary founder of Rome delivered his prophecy posthumously in a vision to Proculus Julius. Livy is openly scornful of the people's credulity; cf. here 'as they report, or faigne'.

**205-7. Fabrick . . . End:** cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lycurgus', D4 ff.

**209. Turks have it:** cf. Knolles, 5F1:

The Historie of the Turkes (being indeed nothing els but the true record of the wofull ruines of the greater part of the Christian commonweale) thus as before passed through, and at length brought to end; and their empire (of all others now upon earth farre the greatest) as a proud champion still standing up as it were in defiance of the whole world.

**229. Turke, . . . Propagation:** cf. 'Considerations touching a War', xiv. 475-6; 'Mahomet's Sword', III. 114-16 n.

**246. Romans . . . Libertie of Grecia:** the Romans battled Philip to free Greece in the Second Macedonian War (196 BC). Cf. the Roman decree issued after the defeat of Philip (Livy, xxxiii. 32-3).

**248-9. set up . . . Oligarchies:** the Spartans supported oligarchies against Athens during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC). See Thucydides, i. 18-19.

**257. a Just and Honourable Warre . . . Exercise:** Reynolds notes the greater, more positive emphasis upon war in 25.



258. **A Civill Warre**, . . . **Feaver**: a frequent comparison. Cf. *AL* iii. 336; *Henry 7*, vi. 62, 89.

260. **Slothfull Peace**: cf. *Observations on a Libel* (1592), viii. 174:

Besides it is a better condition of an inward peace to be accompanied with some exercise of no dangerous war in foreign parts. . . . And it is no small strength unto the realm, that in these wars of exercise and not of peril so many of our people are trained, and so many of our nobility and gentlemen have been made excellent leaders both by sea and land.

264. **a Veteran Armie**: Wright compares 'Considerations touching a War with Spain', xiv. 499.

270. **Master of the Sea**, . . . **Monarchy**: cf. 'Britain', vii. 54, 'Your majesty's dominion and empire comprehendeth all the islands of the north-west ocean, where it is open, until you come to the imbarred or frozen sea towards Iceland; in all which tract it hath no intermixture or interposition of any foreign land, but only of the sea, whereof you are also absolutely master'.

272-3. **Consilium Pompeii . . . potiri**: 'The policy of Pompey is wholly that of Themistocles; for he believes whoever is master of the sea is master of the situation.' Paraphrase of Cicero, *Ad Att.* x. 8, 'cuius omne consilium Themistocleum est. Existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse esse rerum potiri'.

276. **Battaile of Actium**: Antonius lost to Octavius in 31 BC when he left the scene to follow Cleopatra. See Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Antonius', 4P2<sup>v</sup>-4P3.

277-8. **Lepanto . . . Turke**: the fleet of the Holy League, led by Don John of Austria, crushed the Turkish fleet in a battle off Lepanto in 1571. In 38 (*Latin*) the expression is more graphic: 'Pugna ad Insulas Cursolares circum in naribus Turcae posuit', 'The battle near the Kurzolari Islands put a ring in the nostrils of the Turks' (i. 801); cf. 'Britain', vii. 19; Knolles, 4F5. King James includes a youthful account in *His Majesties Poetical Exercises at Vacant houres* (Edinburgh, 1591). See Patrick, 'Hawk versus Dove', 164-7.

280. **set up their Rest**: 'to hazard one's all (the remainder) upon something' (*OED*, s.v. 7); this colloquialism is used by North in Plutarch's life of Antonius (4P), just cited. Cf. 'Considerations touching a War', xiv. 488, '[The Spanish] durst not put it to a battle at sea, but set up their rest wholly upon the land enterprise'.

289-91. **Wealth of both Indies**, . . . **Seas**: in 'Notes of a Speech concerning a War with Spain', xiv. 464, Bacon suggests the English could beat the Spanish fleet, 'For if that be, you see the chain is broken, from shipping to Indies, from Indies to treasure, and from treasure to greatness'; cf. also 'Considerations', xiv. 499-500.

304-6. **great Donatives . . . Mens Courages**: cf. William Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill* (1602), ch. XX, 'Of Donatives, or Rewards'.

307-8. **Triumph**, . . . **not Pageants or Gauderie**: see XXXVII. 52-7.



314-15. **Actual Triumphs to Themselves:** cf. the objection to a triumph for Pompey in XXVII. 67-8 n.

319-20. **by Care taking . . . Stature:** Matt. 6: 27 (Geneva) ('by taking thought', AV).

### XXX. 'Of Regiment of Health' (pp. 100-2)

5. **Mans owne Observation:** Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, 3G1V:

every man ought to know the particularities and properties of his own pulse, for there bee many diversities and differences in each one of us: also that it behooveth no man to be ignorant in the severall complexion of his own bodie, as well in heat as in drinesse: also to be skilfull what things be good for him, and what be hurtfull, when he useth them: for he that would learne these particularities of any other than of himselfe. . . . is as it were deafe and blinde, a stranger he is dwelling in a borrowed body, and none of his owne.

In 1624 Bacon described himself as one 'that have been ever puddering in physic all my life' (xiv. 515), an observation corroborated by Peter Boener, his personal apothecary: 'a great lover of physic, paying great attention to his health' (xiv. 566-7). See Bacon's personal observations in the 1608 notebook (xi. 78-9) and the payments recorded in the 1618 account-book to 'the apothecary of St Albans' and 'a bill for Physic' for £17. 12s. 0d. (xiii. 328, 329, 333). Chamberlain, *Letters*, ii. 76, opined in 1617 that Bacon's frail constitution would not be strong enough for the position of Lord Keeper. In the midst of the 1621 proceedings, Bacon feared that his poor health would be misread by his adversaries (xiv. 213).

12. **still:** the earlier editions, 12b-24, add 'Certainly most lusty old men catch their death by that adventure'; a rare instance of substantive deletion in 25, perhaps prompted by Bacon's own advancing years, sixty-five.

15-16. **in Nature, . . . Things:** Wright compares Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, i. 26, 'A New Prince ought to make everything new in a city or province he conquers' (Gilbert, i. 253-4).

25. **Passions . . . Minde:** cf. *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 279 (ii. 171-2), for a physiological examination of their effect upon longevity.

26. **Anger fretting inwards:** *ibid.*, 'Suppressed anger is likewise a kind of vexation, and makes the spirit to prey upon the juices of the body. But anger indulged and let loose is beneficial, like those medicines which induce a robust heat.'

26-7. **Subtill . . . Inquisitions:** cf. *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 262-3 (ii. 154):

But there is a great difference in the longevity of philosophers, according to their different tenets. . . . philosophies dealing with

troublesome subtleties, dogmatic, weighing and wresting everything to the standard of certain principles; and lastly those that were crabbed and narrow, were bad; and such were mostly the sects of the peripatetics and schoolmen.

32. **Contemplations of Nature:** *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 263, '... those which comprised within themselves the survey of the universe, the variety of nature, unbounded, deep and noble thoughts concerning the infinite, the stars, the heroic virtues, and the like, were good'.

46-7. **vary, . . . more benigne Extreme:** Celsus, *De medicina*, i. 1. Aulus Cornelius Celsus (AD 14-37) recommends exercise, but stresses the healthy man's freedom from daily regimen and urges him to seek variety; the notion of the 'benigne Extreme' is Bacon's emphasis. See also *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 263.

51. **Physicians:** cf. a letter to Buckingham of 29 August 1623, xiv. 431, 'I have lain at two wards, the one against my disease, the other against my physicians, who are strange creatures'.

### XXXI. 'Of Suspicion' (pp. 102-3)

12. **more Suspicious . . . more Stout:** cf. *Henry 7*, vi. 49, 67, 242, 243; XIX. 6-8.

28-30. **Buzzes; . . . Stings:** cf. a letter to Buckingham of 17 February 1619/20, xiv. 81, 'Mr. Attorney groweth pretty pert with me of late, and I see well who they are that maintain him. But be they flies, or be they wasps, I neither care for buzzes nor stings, most especially in anything that concerneth my duty to his Majesty or my love to your Lordship'.

38-9. **give a Pasport to Faith:** i.e. sanction faith's departure; the Italian proverb quoted in line 38 is given in Latin in *Ant. R.* 45, iv. 491 (i. 705), 'Suspicio fidem absolvit', 'Suspicion discharges faith'.

39-40. **discharge it selfe:** i.e. free itself from suspicion by blameless behaviour.

### XXXII. 'Of Discourse' (pp. 103-5)

Cf. 'Short Notes for Civil Conversation', vii. 109. Reynolds suggests that the essay may be in part a response to Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 37, 'There are rules for oratory laid down by rhetoricians; there are none for conversation; and yet I do not know why there should not be' (Loeb).

6. **should be Thought:** i.e. because it is true. The contrast is between those who talk to display their wit and those who talk to discover a serious point.

7-9. **Common Places, . . . Ridiculous:** Wright compares Plutarch, *Morals*, A4<sup>v</sup>. Bacon criticizes those who cannot get beyond their own

commonplaces and hobby-horses. He recommends commonplaces, however, as a stimulation to invention, part of a speaker's or writer's 'Promptuary or Preparatory Store', and includes a collection of *pro/contra* sentences in *De Aug.*, describing them as 'commonplaces [contracted] into certain acute and concise sentences; to be as skeins or bottoms of thread which may be unwinded at large when they are wanted' (iv. 472; i. 688). As noted throughout the Commentary, there are numerous points of contact between this collection and the essays.

10. **give the Occasion:** 'provide the opportunity.'

14. **present . . . Arguments:** i.e. mix matters of the moment with more substantial topics.

**Tales with Reasons:** i.e. 'anecdotes with main points of the discussion'.

16-17. **as we say now, to Jade:** the verb is a recent coinage; *OED*, s.v. 'jaded', cites *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606-7), III. i. 34, as the earliest instance: 'to make a jade of [a horse], to fatigue, weary'; lemma appears to be the earliest figurative use.

18-19. **priviledged . . . Religion:** *ODEP* cites 'It is an old saying, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*' (1587). Cf. XVI. 59 n.

23. **a Vaine, . . . bridleed:** cf. Tilley F708, 'He would rather lose a friend than his jest'; J40, 'Better lose a jest than a friend'; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* VI. iii. 28. Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641), D1<sup>v</sup>, credits Bacon's father with the saying; Drummond of Hawthornden attributes the fault to Ben Jonson (Jonson, *Works*, i. 151). Cf. also Tilley J46, 'Leave jesting while it pleases lest it turn to earnest'.

24. **Parce . . . Loris:** 'Spare the lash, boy, and use the reins more strongly.' Ovid, *Met.* ii. 127 (Phoebus to Phaethon).

26. **Saltnesse and Bitternesse:** cf. *Apoph.* vii. 123.

28-35. **questioneth much, . . . speak:** cf. Rawley's account of discourse at Bacon's table (i. 12).

37-8. **As Musicians . . . Galliards:** galliard, a lively court dance in triple time. It was often included among the social dances of the 'revels' portion of the masque, during which the costumed masquers danced with select members of the audience. Just what device the musicians used to bring one group off and another on is not clear—presumably a change in tune or tempo. The revels portion was of indeterminate length; it had to be ended, with the dance-floor cleared of audience, before the final dances and formal exit of the masquers.

38-9. **dissemble . . . knowledge:** cf. *AL* iii. 464.

40-1. **Speech of a Mans Selfe . . . seldome:** cf. Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 38; LIIII. 49-56.

47. **Speech of Touch towards Others:** i.e. affecting other persons. Cf. LVII. 38-9 (only these citations in *OED*).

48-9. **Field, . . . home:** i.e. a field held in common.

49-50. **two Noble-men, of the West Part:** untraced.

62. **As . . . Beasts:** cf. *AL* iii. 394.

## XXXIII. 'Of Plantations' (pp. 106-8)

In 1606 Bacon drew up 'Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland' for King James (xi. 116-26), in which he urged the creation of a council of plantation for Ireland, but derided the plans under way for an overseas plantation: '[there is] the precedent of the like council of plantation for Virginia; an enterprise in my opinion differing as much from this, as Amadis de Gaul differs from Caesar's Commentaries' (123). He soon changed this latter view, however, and his name is linked with many of the trading and colonizing ventures of the period: he was a member of the Virginia Company of London (1609), an incorporator of the Newfoundland Company (1610) and of the North West Passage Company (1612), and 'free brother' of the East India Company (1618) (*The Genesis of the United States*, ed. A. Brown [Boston, 1890], ii. 82). While he was Lord Chancellor, his patronage was sought in 1618 by Captain John Smith, a veteran of the Virginia plantation, for a proposed venture to New England (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660* [1860], i. 42, in *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, edd. E. Arber and A. G. Bradley [Edinburgh, 1910], i, pp. cxxxi-cxxxii), and by William Strachey, a former secretary of the Virginia Company, for help in publishing his manuscript history, *The Historie of Travaile in Virginia Britannia* (ed. R. H. Major [Hakulst Soc., 6; 1849]).

Additional evidence of Bacon's interest in the Virginia plantation may be seen in the stained-glass depiction of a tobacco plant and turkey cock in the gallery at Gorhambury (see XLV. 93-4 n.), and in the cryptic payments recorded in his 1618 account-book: 'To one that went to Verginia . . . 2/4/0', 'To George the Verginian by your Lp. order 0/10/0' (xiii. 330, 331); see also the Indian Kawasha (offering a mock defence of tobacco in a masque he sponsored in 1614; see XXXVII n.).

The essay is essentially a gloss upon the Virginia plantation before 1623. In 1619 the Virginia Company became embroiled in a bitter struggle between a faction led by Sir Thomas Smith (treasurer 1606-18) and one led by his successor, Sir Edwin Sandys, which ended finally with the King's intervention in 1623 and the dissolution of the company in favour of more direct royal control. (See W. F. Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* [New York, 1932].) The essay appears to have been written before the dissolution, and probably c.1619-22, for its prospect of exploiting a wide variety of natural resources and commodities (lines 26-65) echoes the optimistic tone of the official pamphlets of the company during that period, published to attract investors and colonists. In addition, the bland nature of the comments on the treatment of the natives (lines 91-8) suggests composition before the 1622 massacre. Many of Bacon's points reflect upon the mistakes made at Jamestown, when the untested recommendations and assumptions of the Hakluyts,



drawn up for Gilbert and Raleigh in the 1570s and 1580s, were introduced to Virginia in 1606 and later. (See *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor [Hakluyt Soc., ser. ii, 77-8; 1935]). In 38 (*Latin*) there are what appear to be authoritative revisions and additions, and substantive readings are quoted below.

1. 38 (*Latin*) reads 'De Plantationibus Populorum, et Coloniis', 'Of plantations of peoples and colonies'.

4. World . . . Children: Wright compares Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, v. 821-7.

6. Children of former Kingdoms: cf. 'Discourse on the Plantation in Ireland', xi. 116-17, 'For indeed unions and plantations are the very nativities or birth-days of kingdoms'.

7. in a Pure Soile: cf. Letters Patent granted to Sir Humfrey Gilbert in 1578 (R. Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations* [1589], 3P3) and to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584: 'free libertie . . . to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, Countreys, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people' (3T2<sup>v</sup>) (Reynolds).

10-11. leese . . . Profit: in Virginia there were hopes of profit in the first years, but they were unfounded.

13-14. Destruction . . . first Yeeres: cf. Bacon's similar remark in 1617 regarding Ireland ('Speech to Sir William Jones', xiii. 206).

17-18. Scumme of People, . . . Condemned Men: vagabonds, prisoners, and other undesirables were transported to Virginia; see, for example, the Privy Council orders for transportation of prisoners in 1617-18 (*Records of the Virginia Company*, ed. S. M. Kingsbury [Washington, DC, 1906], i. 25, note *a*); fifty prisoners were selected from Bridewell for transportation in December 1619 (*Records*, i. 288-9). See also R. C. Johnson, 'The Transportation of Vagrant Children from London to Virginia, 1618-1622', in *Early Stuart Studies: Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson*, ed. H. S. Reinmuth, jun. (Minneapolis, 1970), 137-51. Bacon's account (lines 19-23) of the rogues who betrayed the colony with their sloth and mischief and then slandered it in their reports home derives from a specific incident reported in a company pamphlet of 1610 in which a band of thirty (termed 'that scum of men', F1) stole the colony's ship *Swallow* and turned pirate until,

beeing pinched with famine and penurie, after their wilde roving upon the Sea, . . . resolved to returne for England, bound themselves by mutuall oath, to agree all in one report, to discredit the land, to deplore the famyne, and to protest that this their comming awaie, proceeded from desperate necessitie. (*A true declaration of the estate of the colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise* [1610], F1-F1<sup>v</sup>.)

In the same year, another company pamphlet, *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in*



Virginia after condemning the factions and sloth of the settlers, announced that thereafter character references and proof of skills would be required (D3).

23-6. ought to be Gardners, . . . Bakers: *A true and sincere declaration* advertised such a list (D3<sup>v</sup>) of specific practical skills, seeking thirty-two professions. The first groups had not been so practical (see line 64 n.); in 1608 John Smith complained to London, 'When you send againe I intreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees, roots, well provided; then a thousand of such as we have' (first published in his *The Generall Historie of Virginia* [1624], ed. cit. ii. 444). According to Smith's *Map of Virginia* (Oxford, 1612), the supply of that year included in its company of 120: 26 gentlemen, 2 goldsmiths, 2 refiners, 6 tailors, 1 jeweller, and 1 perfumer (in *The Jamestown Voyages . . . 1606-1609*, ed. P. L. Barbour, [Hakluyt Soc., ser. ii; 1969], ii. 397-9). The mistake of sending men of highly specialized skills went back to the recommendations in Hakluyt's 'Discourse of Western Planting' (1584). In 1620, in *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affairs*, the company, still fighting its earlier reputation, insisted that of 1,200 colonists sent over in the previous year 'most of them [have been] choise men, borne and bred up to labour and industry' (B1) and even cited the English counties from which they had been recruited. (See E. S. Morgan's 'The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-18', in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 76 [1971], 595-611; *American Slavery, American Freedom* [New York, 1975].)

25. with some few: *om.* 38 (*Latin*).

26. and Bakers: 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Cervisiarii, et hujusmodi', 'brewers and the like'.

28. to Hand: 38 (*Latin*) reads 'sine cultura', 'without tilling'.

Pine-Apples: i.e. pine-cones; see XLVI. 15.

29. Olives, Dates: neither native to Virginia, though not implausible given the colony's latitude by comparison with the Mediterranean. The company planned in 1620 to supply oil from native walnuts and from olive plants imported from France (*Records*, i. 392).

32. Parsnips, . . . Radish: a similar list in R. Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615), D3-D3<sup>v</sup>; 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Melones, Pepones, Cucumeres', 'melons, pumpkins, cucumbers'.

33. Artichokes of Hierusalem: not properly an artichoke, but a species of sunflower (*Helianthus tuberosus*). Not mentioned in any of the contemporary Virginia publications; Parkinson, *A Garden* (1629), calls them 'Potatoes of Canada': 'We in England, . . . have called them Artichokes of Jerusalem, only because the roote, being boyled, is in taste like the bottome of an Artichoke head' (2V6<sup>v</sup>). He suggests that they have become very common in 1629, 'whereas when they were first received among us [in 1617, according to Johnson's revision of Gerard's *Herbal* (1633), ii. 260], they were dainties for a Queene'. *OED* (earliest citation, 1620) suggests 'Hierusalem' (Jerusalem) is a corruption of Italian *girasole*, 'turning with the sun', a name given to the plant at the

Farnese garden in Rome c.1617. (Parkinson, loc. cit., also calls it '*Flos Solis Farnesianus*', 'Sunflower of Farnese').

**Maiz:** cf. E. Waterhouse, *Declaration of the State of the Colony* (1622), B2<sup>v</sup>, 'their Maize (being the naturall Graine of VIRGINIA) doth farre exceed in pleasantnesse, strength, fertilitie, and generalitie of use, the Wheat of England'.

**Wheat:** 38 (*Latin*) adds '*Siliquam*', 'pulse'.

**43. House-doves:** 38 (*Latin*) adds '*Cuniculi*', 'rabbits'.

**and the like:** 38 (*Latin*) adds '*Præcipio autem Piscationibus incumbendum, tum ad sustentationem Coloniae, tum ad Lucrum Exportationis*', 'Moreover, I recommend concentrating upon Fishing, first for the sustenance of the plantation, then for the profit of exporting'.

**44-5. almost . . . Allowance:** especially the case in the early years of the colony. See Smith's angry complaint of 'but a pinte of Corne a day for a man' and of the need to return some of that to the supply ship for its homeward voyage (*Gen. Hist.* ii. 444-5). Governor De La Warr refers in 1611 to 'at least tenne moneths victuals, in their store-house, (which is daily issued unto them . . .)' (*A Short Relation*, in *Genesis*, i. 480-1).

**46-7. Common Stocke:** 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Horreis publicis*', 'public granaries'.

**49. Manure, for his owne Private:** Governor Dale in 1614 assigned three acres to each man with dramatic results in increased production. See Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615), D1; E. S. Morgan, 'The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630', *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 28 (1971), 169-98.

**50-1. what Commodities the Soile, . . . yeeld:** many of the commodities (lines 54-65) were first proposed in Hakluyt's 'Discourse of Western Planting' (1584) or Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), based upon the Roanoke island voyages. The pamphlets and records of the company detail the hopes and plans (in the event, largely unsuccessful) to fulfil Hakluyt's vision of an economy based upon such a wide range of commodities instead of a single one, such as tobacco. See Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, and following notes.

**52-4. So . . . Tabacco in Virginia:** 38 (*Latin*) reorders the passage so that the phrase 'As it hath fared with Tabacco in Virginia' follows 'helpe to defray the Charge' (lines 51-2). The spelling '*Tabacco*' of 25(u) is retained here since it appears in Bacon's holograph letters ('*Tobacco*' in 25(c)).

John Rolfe first harvested a crop of Spanish tobacco in 1612 and a small shipment reached England in 1613. The crop proved to be easy to cultivate and very profitable, with a ready market in England; the result was tobacco fever: 2,500 pounds were shipped (from Virginia and Bermuda) in 1616, nearly ten times that amount the following year (18,839), and more than double that again in 1618 (49,518) (Craven, p. 39). By 1616 Governor Dale found the colonists' preoccupation with tobacco so great that it was necessary to require each man to plant two acres of corn to prevent starvation, a directive that appears to have been less than successful, for in 1619 Sir Edwin Sandys, the new

treasurer, complained that all crops except sassafras and tobacco were being neglected: '[the people] by this misgovernment reduced themselves into an extremity of being ready to starve (unles the Magazine this last yeare had supplied them wth Corne and Cattle from hence' (*Records*, i. 266); see also E. S. Morgan's study of the 'boom-town' mentality in Jamestown at this time, 'The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630', *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 28 (1971), 169-98; *American Slavery, American Freedom*.

At the same time, the English Government's attitude towards tobacco was complicated. The King's hostility was expressed in *A Counter Blaste to Tobacco* (1604) and in various proclamations which restrained the planting of tobacco in England and Wales (30 December 1619; Larkin and Hughes, No. 195), prohibited the selling of Virginia tobacco in any but English ports (29 June 1620; Larkin and Hughes, No. 203), and prohibited the import of foreign tobacco (29 September 1624; Larkin and Hughes, No. 257). These restraints, however, helped to create a monopoly on tobacco imports by which the King's revenues profited both by direct customs (Larkin and Hughes, No. 459 n. 3) and by rental of the monopoly to a group of English merchants (*ibid.*, p. 482 n. 2). Bacon himself, in a letter of 22 November 1619 written to Buckingham before the proclamation restricting domestic cultivation (*ibid.*, No. 195), calculates a £3,000 increase in revenue as its result (xiv. 62). The inconsistency of the Government's attitude persists in the proclamation of 29 September 1624 (Larkin and Hughes, No. 257, issued after the dissolution of the Virginia Company), which reiterates the King's opposition to tobacco ('as tending to the corruption both of the health and manners of Our people') while explicitly linking tobacco to the economic health of the overseas plantations (601). See also, Craven, ch. VIII, 'The Tobacco Contract'.

**54-5. Wood commonly . . . much:** cf. *A True Declaration* (1610), H1<sup>v</sup>.

**55. Timber:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'ad Ædificia, Naves, aut ejusmodi usus apta', 'fit for houses, ships, or similar purposes'.

**56-7. Iron is a brave Commoditie:** *A True Declaration*, H2, asserts that the Virginia ore has been tested and 'maketh as good Iron as any in Europe', and in the same year the company advertised for '10 Iron men for the Furnace and Hammer' (*A true and sincere declaration*, D3<sup>v</sup>). The company made a concerted effort between 1619 and 1622 to establish an iron industry, investing nearly £5,000 in the project without significant result (Craven, pp. 100, 179, 195; cf. also *Records*, i. 472, 475-6; iii. 116, 302-3, 670-1; Waterhouse (1622), B2<sup>v</sup>, C1).

**57-8. Making of Bay Salt:** '2 salt-makers' are sought in 1610 (*A true and sincere declaration*, D3<sup>v</sup>); the company directive of 1619 noting that salt 'works having bin lately suffered to decay', orders a renewed effort to supply the colony's needs (*Records*, iii. 116). See also a letter of 1620 sent from Virginia recommending that the old method of boiling be replaced by the method here recommended by Bacon, salt ponds (iii. 304).

**59. Growing Silke:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Sericum vegetabile', 'vegetable

silk'. Hariot, *A Brief and True Report* (1588), B1, describes abundant stores of 'Silke of grasse or grasse silke' 'growing naturally and wild'. In 1619 the company ordered additional plantings of 'Silke-grasse' 'approved to make the best Cordage and Linnen in the world. Of this, every house-holder is bound to set 100. Plants: and the Governour himselfe hath set five thousand' (*Records*, iii. 116); the project was reported unsuccessful in 1621 (iii. 474).

**60. Pitch and Tarre:** Chamberlain, *Letters*, i. 283, notes the arrival in London in January 1609 of a ship from Virginia carrying wood, soap ashes, and 'some pitch and tarre' (in *Jamestown Voyages*, ii. 247); '4. Pitch Boylers' are sought in 1610 (*A true and sincere declaration*, D3<sup>v</sup>); in 1619 the company announces 'the *Polackers* are returned to their [pitch and tar] workes' (*Records*, iii. 116); in the following year the colony complains that in Virginia, unlike Poland, the trees are too scattered for efficient harvesting (ibid. 303); none the less, plans are made by the company to acquire additional workers 'from the Easterne parts' to join the '*Polackers*' (ibid. 314-15).

**61. Drugs:** the principal shipment appears to have been in sassafras, believed to be a cure for syphilis. (See Sandys's complaint above, lines 52-4 n.)

**64. the Hope of Mines:** the early hope of the company was to repeat the Spanish success and discover gold. 'Mynes' are mentioned specifically in the Letters Patent of 1606 (*Jamestown Voyages*, i. 28). As noted above (lines 23-6 n.), the sending in 1608 of refiners, goldsmiths, and a jeweller betrayed this delusion; Captain Newport had been ordered 'not to returne without a lumpe of gold' (ii. 410). Cf. John Smith's contemptuous account of the colony's gold fever (ibid. ii. 394-5), and his fruitless attempt to get another ship captain to load his ship with cedar rather than 'his phantastical gold . . . durt' (ibid. 395). Smith's view of the worth of the cargo proved to be just. The company was still trying to cure gold fever in 1622 (Waterhouse, E4).

**66-7. one, assisted with some Counsell:** the Second Charter for the Virginia Company (23 May 1609), which may have been prepared in part by Bacon in his capacity as Solicitor-General, established that the Governor be appointed by the Council in London (*Genesis*, ii. 232, 233-4). Under the original Letters Patent of 10 April 1606, a president was elected in Virginia by his fellow councillors to preside over the council (ibid. i. 55-6), a system which produced considerable squabbling. (See Smith's caustic account.)

**67-8. exercise Martiall Lawes, . . . limitation:** cf. William Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*, &c. (1612), a severe code modelled upon contemporary military laws, with many offences bearing the death penalty. Hamor's account of conditions encountered by Governor Dale in 1611 (reprinted in *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ii. 506-7) indicates the need for such laws.

**71-2. too many Counsellours, and Undertakers:** Reynolds quotes Smith's answer to the Royal Commissioners: 'at the first there were



but six Patentees, now more then a thousand; then but thirteen Counsaillors, now not less than an hundred' (*Travels and Works*, ii. 617).

**73-4. rather Noblemen, . . . Merchants:** cf. the 1620 'Orders and Constitutions', 44 (*Records*, iii. 347).

**75-6. Freedomes from Custome, . . . Strength:** the company's charters (1606, 1609, 1612) exempted it from customs duties for seven years. The third charter for total exemption expired in 1619.

**77-8. Freedom to carrie their Commodities:** in the case of its principal commodity, tobacco, the company was forced to pay customs in 1619 and, after 1620 (Larkin and Hughes, No. 203), to sell only through authorized agents in England (482 n. 2). See Craven, 'The Tobacco Contract', pp. 221-50, esp. 223-4. Bacon's qualifications, 'except there be some special Cause of Caution' (line 79), may be a nod to the status quo. In 1624 Smith urges 'that his Majesty would please to remit his custome; or it is to be feared they will lose custome and all' (ii. 619).

**79-80. Cramme not in . . . too fast:** sent to contribute to the existing plantation, the new colonists frequently arrived debilitated by their long ocean voyage, unfit for the tasks they had been sent to perform, in need of shelter, and constituting an additional drain on the meagre supplies—more a liability than a help for a considerable period of time. The problem became especially acute in the years 1619-23, when the company sent over between 3,500 and 4,000 colonists (Craven, p. 301). The supply problem was exacerbated by the profiteering of company officers in Virginia (Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, p. 117). The death rate during these years (including in this number the 347 lost in the 1622 massacre) has been estimated as being up to 75 per cent (the company admitted to 45 per cent) (Craven, pp. 301-2; see his analysis, 'Hasty Colonization', pp. 148-75).

**85-6. Marish and unwholesome Grounds:** cf. William Strachey, *A True Reportory*, 7G2:

*James Towne*, as yet seated in some what an unwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the River, and hath no fresh water Springs serving the Towne, but what wee drew from a Well sixe or seven fathom deepe, fed by the brackish River owzing into it, from whence I verily beleeeve, the chiefe causes have proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which have happened to our people.

Composed in 1610, Strachey's *A True Reportory* was first published in 1625 in *Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (The Fourth Part). Like Shakespeare, who drew upon Strachey's unpublished account for *The Tempest* (1611) (G. Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* [London, 1975], viii. 239), Bacon may have seen the manuscript. He and Strachey were fellow members of Gray's Inn. As noted above, Strachey approached Bacon regarding his *Historie* in 1618 and prepared a manuscript dedication to him. *A True Declaration* (1610), which also appears to have used Strachey,



contains a similar passage (E2<sup>V</sup>), though not so close to the phrasing of the essay. The printed account compares the mortality rates at Jamestown with the other settlements away from the marsh. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, p. 71, points out that the siting of Jamestown fits the formula prescribed by Hakluyt: distant enough from the sea to provide warning of the Spanish, located on a peninsula for ease of defence, and upon a river which allowed access to the interior by ship.

**92-4. doe not onely entertaine . . . sufficient Guard:** for a review of Indian-settler relations in Virginia, see A. T. Vaughan, '“Expulsion of the Salvages”: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622', *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 35 (1978), 57-84. As Vaughan notes, pp. 76-7, the massacre on 22 March 1622 of 347 settlers (more than one-quarter of the total population) produced a new English policy of total war against the Indians. It seems unlikely that Bacon could have written these temperate remarks after news of the massacre had reached England in mid-June 1622. Compare his comments (lines 94-6) with those of Waterhouse, writing for the company soon after the massacre concerning the desired 'ruine and subjection' of the Indians (D4<sup>V</sup>).

**96-7. send oft of them, . . . Plants:** as early as June 1608, Namontack, one of Powhatan's braves, was brought to London and shown off as the 'son of the Emperor' (*Jamestown Voyages*, i. 163 n. 1; see also i. 199; ii. 392). The most celebrated visitor, of course, was Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan. She became a Christian ('Rebecca'), married the colonist John Rolfe in 1614, and accompanied him and 'ten or twelve old and younge of that cuntrye' to England in June 1616 (Chamberlain, *Letters*, ii. 12), where she was received warmly by the Court and attended one of its masques (ibid. 50; enclosing a copy of her recently engraved portrait, Chamberlain sneers at her propaganda value for the company). She died in Gravesend in March as she was preparing to return to Virginia (ibid. ii. 66).

**99. grows to Strength, . . . Plant with Women:** there were few women in the early years of the colony. In 1619 the company sought to change the colony's predominantly male society, proposing 'that a fitt hundreth might be sent of woemen, Maides young and uncorrupt to make wifes to the Inhabitantes and by that meanes to make the men there more settled and lesse moveable' (*Records*, i. 256; 269). On 7 July 1620 (ibid. i. 391; iii. 115, 313) 100 additional maids were sought, and the following year detailed instructions were sent to the Governor on how to receive some women and offering tobacco incentives to men who would marry (iii. 493-4). In the earliest census (1624/5), taken as a result of the 1622 massacre, out of a total population of 1,218 persons counted there were 934 males (76.7 per cent) and 270 females (22.1 per cent), with 14 whose sex was not indicated in the census (1.2 per cent). See I. W. D. Hecht, 'The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 as a Source for Demographic History', *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 30 (1973), 64-92.

**102-3. sinfulllest . . . destitute a Plantation:** no doubt an allusion to the failure to supply Raleigh's Roanoke colony in 1588-9. When the

supply finally appeared in 1590, the settlement was in ruins and the colonists had vanished. (See *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, ed. D. B. Quinn, two vols. [Hakluyt Soc.; 1950], ii. 593).

104. *Guiltinesse of Blood*: 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Proditio mera, Profusio-que sanguinis', 'simple betrayal, and spilling of blood'.

### XXXIII. 'Of Riches' (pp. 109-12)

3-6. *I cannot . . . March*: *Promus*, fo. 84, 'Divitiae Impedimenta virtutis, The baggage of vertue'; cf. Seneca, *Epist.* lxxxvii. 11; *Ant. R.* 6, iv. 475 (i. 691), 'I . . . for they are both necessary to virtue and cumbersome'; Tilley R107.

7-8. *great Riches*, . . . Use: cf. *Ant. R.* 6, loc. cit., 'Of great riches you may have either the keeping, or the giving away, or the fame; but no use'; cf. also lines 12-13.

9-11. *Where . . . Eyes*: Eccles. 5: 11, 'When goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?'

15-17. *fained Prices*, . . . *great Riches*: *Ant. R.* 6, loc. cit.; Abbott compares More, *Utopia*, trans. Robinson (2nd edn., 1556), ed. Arber (1869), 101. (Cf. XLI. 67-70.)

19-20. *Riches are as a strong Hold . . . Man*: Prov. 10: 15, 'The riche mans goodes are his strong hold' (Bishops' Bible, 1568) ('wealth is his strong citie', AV).

26-7. *of Rabirius Posthumus*: said of his father, Gaius Curtius.

27-8. *In studio rei . . . quæri*: 'In striving to increase his wealth, it was apparent that he sought not prey for avarice, but an instrument for goodness.' Cicero, *Pro Rabir. Post.* iii, 'in augenda re non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quaerere videretur'.

30. *Qui festinat . . . insons*: 'He who hastens to riches, shall not be innocent.' Prov. 28: 20 (Vulgate).

30-3. *Poets . . . Foot*: Reynolds suggests Lucian, *Timon*, 20; cf. John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfy* (1612-14), ed. F. L. Lucas (1927), III. ii. 283-7.

41. *Parsimony . . . not Innocent*: cf. XXVIII. 3-4.

47. *I knew a Nobleman*: 'almost certainly' George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522-90), according to Stone, p. 375 (accidentally called the ninth Earl by Stone). The Earl was not only the largest demesne farmer in the Elizabethan period, controlling lead and iron works, operating steelworks, and owning coal-mines and glassworks—evidence that the earth was indeed a fecund sea to him (lines 52-3)—but he was also an active investor in the sea ventures of the time, speculating in the exploring voyages of 1574 and 1582 (Stone, p. 376).

53-4. *truly observed . . . Great*: Reynolds quotes Plutarch, *Morals*, 2K2<sup>v</sup>, 'And like as *Lampas* the rich merchant, and shipmaster, being demaunded how he got his goods: Marie (quoth he) my greatest wealth

I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and slowly'.

70. Usury: see XLI.

72. In . . . alieni: 'In the sweat of the face of a stranger', a parody of Gen. 3: 19; see XLI. 9-11.

74-5. **Scriveners and Broakers:** Reynolds defines as 'intermediaries between the lender and borrower' and quotes 21 James I, c. 17, which regulates the rates of 'scriviners brokers solicitors and drivers of bargains'. See Stone, pp. 531-2.

75. **valew unsound Men, . . . Turne:** i.e. the brokers will receive their commission even if the borrower proves unable to repay.

78. **first Sugar Man, in the Canaries:** unidentified.

85. **Monopolies:** patents of monopoly were issued by the Crown to private individuals giving them control over a particular trade or process by requiring that all who wished to engage in the activity pay the patentee a fee. Thousands of patents were issued during James's reign to influential courtiers and officials, ranging from that on gold and silver thread held by Sir Edward and Christopher Villers to that on clay for tobacco pipes held by the Court fool, Archie Armstrong. Abuses were a constant grievance between Commons and King. A decisive attack on the monopolies was launched in the 1621 Parliament, and Bacon's impeachment in that session may be said to have begun with the investigation into his role as legal referee for many of the patents. Although a general bill against monopolies was defeated in this session, a comprehensive reform bill was enacted in 1624 (see line 86). See W. H. Price, *The English Patents of Monopoly* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), 33; R. Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (Berkeley, 1971), 21-6, 55-60, 130; Akrigg, pp. 171-2.

86. **Coemption . . . Resale:** i.e. hoarding the entire supply of a commodity for resale.

**where . . . not restrained:** cf. the 1624 statute declaring most monopolies contrary to law, but excepting several classes of grants. See Price, *English Patents*, pp. 34-5, 'Appendix A'.

92-3. **Fishing for Testaments:** Reynolds quotes the 1608 notebook as evidence of Bacon's contradictory practice: 'Applieng my self to be inward w<sup>th</sup> my La. Dorsett, per Champners ad utilit. testam [by means of Champners for using the will]' (xi. 77). Cecily, Lady Dorset (d. 1615) was the elderly wife of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (1536-1608), Lord Treasurer, and a very wealthy man, who had died three months before this entry. Another notation, written three days earlier, reminds Bacon 'To send message of complem<sup>t</sup> to my La. Dorsett the wydowe' (ibid. 57). 'Champners' was presumably the agent Bacon would employ to influence the use of the bequest. Spedding, xi. 36, citing the fact that Sackville had served as Chancellor of Oxford, conjectures that Bacon may have hoped to arrange a gift to further his Great Instauration. Dorset had donated books to Bodley's library and arranged for a bust of the founder, but there is no evidence that Bacon acted on this notation or that Spedding's interpretation

is correct. See below, lines 106 n. for Bacon's involvement with Sutton's will.

**94. Testamenta . . . capi:** 'He seized testaments and wards as if with nets.' Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 42 (Suilius' opinion of Seneca).

**97-8. For . . . them:** *Ant. R.* 6, loc. cit.

**98-9. Be not Penny-wise:** Tilley P218, 'Penny-wise and pound-foolish' (1598).

**99. Riches have Wings:** Prov. 23: 5, 'Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not? for riches certainly make themselves wings, they fly away as an Eagle toward heaven' (Wright).

**103-4. Lure . . . Birds of Prey:** cf. the names of aspiring heirs in Jonson's *Volpone* (1605): Voltore (vulture), Corbaccio (raven), Corvino (crow).

**106. like Sacrifices without Salt:** cf. 'Advice to the King, touching Sutton's Estate', xi. 249:

I find it a positive precept of the old law, that there should be no sacrifice without salt [Lev. 2: 13]: the moral whereof (besides the ceremony) may be, that God is not pleased with the body of a good intention, except it be seasoned with that spiritual wisdom and judgment, as it be not easily subject to be corrupted and perverted: for salt, in the scripture, is a figure both of wisdom and lasting. This cometh into my mind upon this act of Mr. Sutton, which seemeth to me as a sacrifice without salt, having the materials of a good intention, but not powdered with any such ordinances and institutions as may preserve the same from turning corrupt, or at least from becoming unsavoury and of little use.

Thomas Sutton died 12 December 1611, leaving a large fortune to establish a school and hospital at Charterhouse. Bacon was one of the law-officers appointed by the Privy Council to report on the case. He argued, unsuccessfully, that the will be set aside and the legacy left at the disposal of the King, setting forth in the 'Advice' specific recommendations as to how the moneys might be used more effectively for the advancement of learning and religion. A notation in the 1608 notebook (xi. 53) indicates that Bacon was aware of Sutton's will before he died.

### XXXV. 'Of Prophecies' (pp. 112-14)

**3. not . . . Divine Prophecies:** a 'History of Prophecy' is discussed briefly in *AL* under 'History Ecclesiastical' and noted by Bacon as 'deficient' and awaiting exploration, but a task which needs 'to be done with wisdom, sobriety, and reverence, or not at all' (iii. 340-1).

**4. Naturall Predictions:** 'forecasts from known data' (Reynolds).

**6. Pythonissa:** Wright notes that the witch of Endor ('woman that hath a familiar spirit', 1 Sam. 28: 7) is called 'mulier pythonem habens'



in the Vulgate. The Latin name derives from the serpent slain by Apollo near Delphi (Ovid, *Met.* i. 447). King James discusses 'Sauls Pythonissa' in *Daemonologie* (Workes, 1616), H6.

6-7. **To Morrow . . . me:** 1 Sam. 28: 19.

8-9. **At Domus . . . illis:** 'There the house of Aeneas shall rule all countries, and his children's children and those born of them.' Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii. 97-8 ('Hic' for 'At'); adapted from Homer, *Iliad*, xx. 307-8 (Wright).

12-17. **Venient . . . Thule:** Seneca, *Medea*, 374-8:

time shall in fine out breake  
When Ocean wave shall open every Realme.  
The wandring World at will shall open lye.  
And *TYPHIS* will some newe founde Land survey  
Some travelers shall the Countreys farre escrye,  
Beyond small Thule, knowen furthest at this day.

(trans. John Studley, in *Seneca his Ten Tragedies* [1581], S1<sup>v</sup> ('Typhisque' emended to 'Tethysque' in modern editions). The prophecy is a traditional Renaissance gloss for these lines; e.g. in editions of Seneca (Venice, 1492, and London, 1613): the latter contains a reference to the geographer Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), who viewed the Seneca passage as referring to the New World. Reynolds compares the epistle dedicatory of Hakluyt, *Third and Last Volume of the Voyages* (1600), A2-A2<sup>v</sup>, which mentions both Seneca's prophecy and Plato's regarding Atlantis, discussed below, lines 90-6.

18-22. **Daughter . . . it:** Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, was lured to his death by the Persian satrap Oroetes c. 522 BC. Bacon used a Latin translation of Herodotus, *Historia, sive, Historiarum Libri IX, qui inscribuntur Musae* (Geneva, 1570), Bk. iii ('Thalia'), H4<sup>v</sup>, whose details, *pace* Reynolds, he follows: 'qui a Iove quidem lavaretur, a sole autem inungeretur', 'Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo annointed him' (lines 19-20).

22-6. **Philip . . . emptie:** Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alexander the Great', 3P1<sup>v</sup>. Philip was king 359-336 BC.

27-8. **Philippis . . . videbis:** 'You will see me again at Philippi.' Plutarch, trans. Xylander (Frankfurt, 1580), 'Brutus', 3Q3<sup>v</sup>, 'respondit ei imago Tuus sum o Brute malus genius, apud Philippos' (trans. North, 4X2<sup>v</sup>). Marcus Brutus (85-42 BC) participated in Caesar's assassination and committed suicide after the defeat at Philippi.

28-9. **Tu . . . Imperium:** 'You too, Galba, shall taste of empire.' Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20 (reading 'tu, Galba, quandoque'). Tiberius was emperor AD 14-37; Galba 'tasted' empire from June 68 to January 69. Suetonius, *Life of Galba*, 2, attributes the same prophecy to Augustus, spoken when Galba was a child.

32-3. **Saviour, . . . Vespasian:** Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13. The 1595 *Opera*, ed. J. Lipsius, contains the marginal note 'Praedictio de rege regum e Iudaea'. Cf. also Suetonius, 4 (trans. P. Holland [1606], 'Annotations',



note *b*, C3<sup>v</sup>). Vespasian, emperor AD 69–79, came to power with the support of the legions of Egypt, Syria, and Judaea.

**33–6. Domitian . . . Golden Times:** Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, 23 (trans. Holland, 2A4<sup>v</sup>); emperor AD 81–96. See also *AL* iii. 303; xiv. 358–9.

**38–9. This is the Lad, . . . we strive:** Henry VI (1422–61). Cf. *Henry 7*, vi. 245; Holinshed, *The Third volume of Chronicles* (1587), iii. 3S1<sup>v</sup>; *3 Henry VI*, IV. vi. 65–76.

**39. When I was in France:** in 1576–9; see XVIII. 19–20 n.

**D<sup>f</sup>. Pena:** perhaps Peter Pena, a Frenchman who published a botanical work with Mattias Lobel, *Stirpium Adversaria nova* (1570) (see Gerard, *Herbal* [1597], 2R6).

**41–6. Nativitie, . . . Bever:** Henry II, King of France (1547–59), died in a tournament. Wright cites De Thou (Jacques-Auguste de Thou [Thuanus], 1553–1617), *Historiarum sui temporis* (first edition, 1604; many revisions). Bacon not only knew the work, but contributed historical materials to it on Queen Elizabeth (see vi. 291–303; letter, xi. 109–10). De Thou's account, however, is sparse; it names the astrologer as one Luca Gaurico, mentions a fatal eye wound, but does not give either specific details of the tilt or name the king's assailant, as in the essay (i. 763 [London, 1733, a reprint in seven vols. of Geneva, 1620]). Jean de Serres, *A Generall Historie of France*, trans. E. Grimstone (1611), 3Q1, does not mention the prophecy, but does give a detailed account of the King's death which squares with the essay: 'But having a second charge from the King to enter the Lists, he [the Earle of Montgomery] runnes, and breakes his Lance upon the Kings cuirasse, and with a splinter thereof (his beaver beeing some-what open) strikes him so deepe into the eye, as the tenth of July his soule left his body'.

**49–50. When Hempe . . . done:** Tilley H414, citing lemma. Wright quotes a Scottish variant, 'When HEMPE is come and also gone, | SCOTLAND and ENGLAND shall be one'.

**52. Principiall:** a Bacon coinage for 'initial' (from Latin *principium*); *OED* lists only lemma and *Sylva* (1626), 251, 'There are Letters, that an Eccho will hardly expresse, as S, for one; Especially being Principiall in a Word' (Spedding, ii. 428, reads 'principal').

**56–7. Kings Stile, . . . Britaine:** cf. the proclamation of 20 October 1604 (Larkin and Hughes, No. 45):

Wherefore Wee have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regall Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us in maner and forme hereafter expressed, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, including therein according to the trueth, the whole Island.

Bacon wrote a draft of the proclamation (x. 235–39; but see Marwil, p. 214 n. 3) and sat on the Commission for Union (see XX. 131–2).

**57–8. another . . . doe not well understand:** Bacon's comment has proved itself prophetic, for the major details of the prophecy remain enigmatic despite his statement that the verses refer to the Spanish

Armada. The date and origin of the prophecy is unclear, but the statement (line 57) appears to treat it as of a kind with the prophecy 'heard' (lines 46-7) earlier in Elizabeth's reign. The overall prediction, of course, was not fulfilled:

that Spanish fleet, . . . the terror and expectation of all Europe, . . . never took so much as a cockboat at sea, never fired so much as a cottage on the land, never even touched the shore; but was first beaten in a battle and then dispersed and wasted in a miserable flight with many shipwrecks; while on the ground and territories of England peace remained undisturbed and unshaken. (vi. 309)

See also xiv. 486-90; G. Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston, 1959).

**60. Betweene the Baugh, and the May:** Wright prints the suggestion of P. A. Daniel that 'the Baugh' is 'the Bass Rock' and 'the May' is 'the isle of May', both islands in Scotland's Firth of Forth, and compares Sir David Lindsay's 'The Complaynt':

Quhen the Basse and the Yle of Maye  
Beis set upon the mont Senaye;  
Quhen the low mound besyde Falkland  
Beis lyftit to Northumberland; . . .  
Than sall I geve thy gold agane.

(*Works*, ed. D. Hamer, i [1931],  
lines 467-70, 474)

The emendation, bolstered by the Lindsay reading, makes some geographical sense out of the lemma, but it is not possible to account for the 'Baugh' reading palaeographically as a corruption of 'Baas' or 'Basse', the spellings which appear on Renaissance maps of Scotland. Nor, though some of the Spanish fleet did flee up and around Scotland before turning towards Spain, is there evidence that they pulled close to the Firth of Forth. Maps of the period show two other references to 'May', a town on the northern point of Scotland and a group of rocks in the same area called 'the men of May', but again there is no corroborative evidence and there are no other candidates for 'Baugh'.

**61. The Blacke Fleete:** the phrase might be applied literally to the colour of the Spanish ships and their trappings or to the appearance of hundreds of ships upon the sea. Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated* (1949), 16, suggests, but without citing his sources, that the Spaniards 'painted their England-bound battleships black' and flew dark pennants with menacing legends upon them, but I cannot corroborate this detail from contemporary sources. Speed, *History* (1611), 6M1V, employs a similar metaphor to describe the fleet: 'the Seas were turretted with such a Navy of ships; as her swelling waves could hardly be seene, and the Flagges, Streamers, and Ensignes, so spread in the winde, that they seemed to darken even the Sunne.'

**of Norway:** Bacon considers this as the key to the identification of the prophecy with the Armada (lines 65-6), but I find no evidence in contemporary sources that 'Norway' was either 'Surname' or part of the style of the Kings of Spain. Finally, there is the possibility that the verses that Bacon here associates with the Armada were, in fact, of earlier origin and referred to fleets of Norsemen which plagued Scotland and northern England in the Anglo-Saxon period.

**67. Regiomontanus:** Johannes Muller (1436-76), German astronomer and mathematician; his Latin name derives from his birthplace, Königsberg (now Kaliningrad).

**68. Octogessimus . . . Annus:** 'Eighty-eight the wonderful year.' C. Camden studies the tradition in 'The Wonderful Yeere [1588]', in *Studies in Honor of Dewitt T. Starnes*, edd. T. P. Harrison *et al.* (Austin, 1967), 163-79. The prophecy saw in the conjunction of the planets for 1588 great, albeit unspecified, disasters and revolutions, a possibility viewed with increasing concern and differing interpretation all over Europe as the deadline loomed. John Harvey's attempt to debunk such prophecies, *A Discursive Probleme concerning Prophecies . . . this present famous yeere, 1588, supposed the Great woonderfull, and Fatall yeere of our Age* (published London, 1588, but before the Armada), prints the Latin verses (with English paraphrase) quoted by Bacon, considering them 'vulgarly fathered' upon 'that excellent Mathematician' Regiomontanus (N1):

After a thousand yeeres from Christs nativitie accounted:  
And five hundred more to the computation added,  
The eight yeere, succeeding fowerscore, wil approach very  
strangely;  
Afflicting mankind with wofull destinie afrighted:  
If then wretched world be not utterly wasted in horror;  
If heavens, lands, and seas consume not finally to naught:  
At least most kingdoms overhurlde with tragicall outrage,  
Shall powre out dreadfull complaints, and pitifull outcries.

Lyly satirizes the wonderful year through the bumbling astrologer in *Gallathea* (composed c.1584-8, performed 1588), in *Works*, ed. Bond (Oxford, 1902), III. iii. 39-46; V. i. 6-9. The specific identification with the Armada is made in Camden's *Annales* (1615), trans. Darcie (1625), 4A1-4A1<sup>v</sup>, and, most vividly, by William Fulke in *The Text of the New Testament* (1589), π 3, in which he caps the Latin verse: 'Octogessimus octavus mirabilis annus | Clade Papistarum, faustus ubique piis', 'Defeat of the Papists, a day of good omen to the pious everywhere' (Reynolds); cf. also, xiv. 489.

**70-1. greatest . . . upon the Sea:** cf. Camden, *Annales* (trans. 1625), 4B3<sup>v</sup>, 'That Spanish ARMADA, the greatest and best furnished with men, munition, and all warlike preparations that ever the Ocean did see, and arrogantly named *Invincible*'.

**72. Cleons Dreame:** in Aristophanes' *Knights*. Reynolds notes that it

was not Cleon's dream, but an oracle stolen from him (lines 197-201). Demosthenes interprets the lines for the sausage-seller:

A serpent's long; a sausage too is long.  
Serpents drink blood, and sausages drink blood.  
The Serpent then, it says, shall overcome  
The black-tanned Eagle [i.e. Cleon].

(Loeb)

The oracle is fulfilled when the sausage-seller helps to overcome Cleon at the end of the play (lines 1230-52). The essay's 'long Dragon' for 'serpent's long' probably derives from a Latin translation of the play (Latin *draco* = 'serpent').

**79. Winter Talke:** 'idle chatter'; cf. 'winter's tale, story'.

**82-3. many severe Lawes . . . them:** Wright cites 5 Eliz., c. 15; 3 & 4 Edw. VI, c. 15; 33 Hen. VIII, c. 14; Reynolds quotes 23 Eliz., c. 2, which made it a felony to make predictions about the Queen's death or the succession. Abbott quotes 'Charge on Opening the Court of Verge' (1611), xi. 271, 'Lastly because the vulgar people are sometimes led with vain and fond prophecies; if any such shall be published to the end to move stirs or tumults, this is not felony, but punished by a year's imprisonment and loss of goods'.

**85-6. Men marke, . . . misse:** Reynolds compares Montaigne, i. 52.

**86. also of Dreames:** in *Sylva*, ii. 666-7, Bacon relates a dream which accurately foretold his father's death, suggesting that 'secret passages of sympathy between persons of near blood' may explain such phenomena: 'I myself remember, that being in Paris, and my father dying in London [on 20 February 1578/9 at York House], two or three days before my father's death I had a dream, which I told to diverse English gentlemen, that my father's house in the country was plastered all over with black mortar.'

**90-1. Seneca's Verse:** quoted above, lines 12-17. Cf. Acosta, *Historie of the East and West Indies* (trans. 1604), D4-D4<sup>v</sup>, ' . . . a question with reason [may] be made, whether *Seneca* spake this by divination, or poetically and by chance. And to speake my opinion, I beleeeve hee did divine, after the manner of wise men and well advised. . . . *Seneca* did conjecture this by the great courage of men, as that which shall happen last, saying, It shall fall out in the latter age, etc.'

**94-5. Plato's Timeus, and his Atlanticus:** *Timaeus*, 24 e-25 d, records the tradition of a huge island west of the Pillars of Hercules from whose shores it was possible to sail, via other islands, across the Ocean to the shore of the continent. Atlantis sank into the sea after a massive earthquake, but the continent remained in memory as the 'great Parts beyond the Atlanticke' (line 92). *Critias*, which some Renaissance Latin translations (e.g. Geneva, 1578) sub-title 'sive Atlanticus' (line 95), describes the inhabitants and laws of the lost island. Cf. *New Atlantis*, iii. 142.



## XXXVI. 'Of Ambition' (pp. 115-17)

**3. like Choler; . . . Humour:** choler, or yellow bile, was considered one of the four chief fluids of the body, the relative proportions of which in an individual determined both health and personality. A preponderance of choler produced the choleric personality; blood, the sanguine; phlegm, the phlegmatic; and black bile, the melancholic. The passage suggests that ambition, like choler, can be either a positive or negative force in behaviour depending on whether it is allowed to be a stimulus to action or is forced inward to fester and become 'adust'. The essay probes the dangers to the State of ambition and, as elsewhere in the volume, seeks 'right Use' for this potentially dangerous force.

**10-11. with an Evill Eye:** i.e. enviously; see IX. 9-10 n.

**23-4. Soldier . . . Spurres:** cf. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 25-7.

**26-7. Seel'd Dove, . . . mounts:** the eyelids of the bird were stitched closed by means of thread tied behind the head (*OED*); the procedure was used both to train hawks and to encourage high soaring in other birds. Cf. Sidney, *New Arcadia*, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922), i. 96, 'Now she brought them to see a seeled Dove, who the blinder she was, the higher she strave'; and 'Uppon the Devye of a Seeled Dove', in *Poems*, ed. W. Ringler (Oxford, 1962), 144, 428 n. Bacon's account-book includes entries for hawking (xiii. 330, 331).

**29-30. Tiberius used Macro . . . Sejanus:** when Sejanus grew too powerful and ambitious, Tiberius secretly appointed Macro head of the Praetorian Guard, then dramatically declared the end of Sejanus' power in an indictment read out in the Senate in the shocked presence of his former favourite. Dio Cassius, lviii. 9; Jonson, *Sejanus his fall* (1603), Act V, creates this moment powerfully. See also XXVII. 85-91, 88 n.

**37. weaknesse . . . Favorites:** Bacon defends the favourite, largely in terms of the prince's need for a friend and confidant, in 'Advice to Villiers' (2nd version), xiii. 27-8.

**44. without that Ballast, . . . much:** cf. Tilley S347, 'Like a ship without a helm (stern, steersman, ballast)'.

**53-4. as it were, in a Wood:** 'puzzled or bewildered.' Cf. Tilley, W732.

**58. Great in Dependances:** i.e. numerous retainers or followers. Reynolds compares *Apology concerning . . . Essex* (1604), x. 145, 'I always vehemently dissuaded him from seeking greatness by a military dependance, or by a popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queen jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the State perturbation: and I did usually compare them to Icarus' two wings which were joined on with wax, and would make him venture to soar too high, and then fail him at the height'.

**61. onely Figure amongst Ciphars:** cf. Tilley C391, 'He is a Cipher among numbers'. Reynolds suggests that Bacon felt himself to be a victim of such a policy at the hands of the Cecils. See his letter of



1612 to the King, written soon after Robert Cecil's death (xi. 282), and another of 1616 to the favourite, Villiers:

I recommend unto you principally that which I think was never done since I was born; and which not done hath bred almost a wilderness and solitude in the King's service; which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance able men and virtuous men and meriting men all kinds, degrees, and professions. For in the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed. (xiii. 6-7)

**65-6. best of these Intentions . . . Honest Man:** Reynolds sneers at this statement as applied to Bacon himself, but it is clear that Bacon's perception that high position brought 'The Vantage Ground to doe good' (line 63)—whether it be the project to reform and codify English law or his Great Instauration—was genuinely behind much of his lifelong struggle to rise to power in the Government. Cf. XI. 33-7.

### XXXVII. 'Of Masques and Triumphs' (pp. 117-18)

Bacon was involved in entertainments throughout his life: devising dumb shows for the Inns of Court play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588); writing speeches for a Queen's Day device put on by the Earl of Essex (? 1595); possibly contributing to the seasonal festivities at Gray's Inn, *Gesta Grayorum*; and taking a leading role in producing two masques for the court, *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613) and *The Masque of Flowers* (1614). (See E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* [Oxford, 1923], iii. 211-14; iv. 55-7; *Gesta Grayorum*, ed. D. S. Bland [Liverpool, 1968], 100.)

The essay focuses upon the concerns of the producer (or 'chief contriver'; see below, lines 6-7 n.) of the Jacobean court masque: there are practical observations upon (and personal preferences for) the songs, dances, and music and upon such technical matters as lighting and costumes, but, strikingly, no indication that a script supplied the themes and dramatic framework for the music, dancing, and disguising. Extant manuscripts of masques, sketches of sets and costumes, settings of songs and dances, souvenir texts with details of the performance, and eyewitness accounts, make it possible to examine Bacon's remarks as a response to the contemporary scene. (See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*; G. E. Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage* [Oxford, 1941-68]; A. J. Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* [Providence, RI, 1978]; and W. J. Lawrence, *TLS* (6 September 1923), revised as ch. X in *Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans* [1935].)

**2. Triumphs:** a generic term for the chivalric exercises discussed below, lines 52-7. In the great house described in 'Of Building', Bacon provides beneath the Hall 'a Roome, for a *Dressing or Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs' (XLV. 59-60).

4-5. **Toyes, . . . Serious Observations:** this essay and 'Of Prophecies' (XXXV) were not included in (38) *Latin*.

6-7. **Daubed with Cost:** Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, i. 211, estimates the average cost of a royal masque at 'about £2,000'; S. Orgel and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (London and Berkeley, 1973), i. 46, cite costs for a number of masques (ranging from £700 to over £3,000) and print expenditures for masques designed by Jones. Bacon's knowledge of the cost of masques was at first hand. Chamberlain calls him 'chief contriver' for the *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (by Francis Beaumont), one of three masques presented at Court in February 1612/13 to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, Count Palatine. Although the exact cost of the masque has not been recorded, it put the Inns so deeply in debt that they were still diverting fees for the outstanding debt in the following year (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii. 235; *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, edd. T. J. B. S[pencer] and S. W. W[ells] [Cambridge, 1967], 128). The next year, Bacon assumed the entire cost of over £2,000 of producing *The Masque of Flowers* for the wedding of the current favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and Lady Frances Howard. Chamberlain (*Letters*, i. 493; quoted in *A Book of Masques*, p. 151) asserts that he was paying a political debt.

7. **Dancing to Song:** the references to 'great State' (line 7) and to the 'Device' (or argument) (line 10) indicate that the dancing of the main masque and not that of the antimasque or of the revels is intended. Campion provides a detailed account of a 'dancing song' in *The Lord Hay's Masque* (1607), (*Works*, ed. W. Davis [Garden City, NY, 1967], 220), and a 'dance triumphant' to a song in *Lords' Masque* (261).

9. **broken Musicke:** an ensemble mixing instruments from different families (wind and string); cf. *Sylva*, ii. 433.

10. **Ditty . . . Device:** i.e. the words of the song should support the argument of the masque.

10-11. **Acting . . . Dialogues:** Campion uses three dialogues for combinations of three, four, and two voices and chorus in *Lord Hay's Masque* and another for three voices and chorus in *Somerset Masque* (1613); Jonson's *Oberon* (1611) employs a dialogue for two; in his *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611) a song between the Graces and a chorus is termed a dialogue (Jonson, *Works*, x. 369), as is a song between an unspecified number of singers and chorus in Campion's *Lords' Masque*.

11-12. **not Dancing:** Sabol, p. 25, defines 'the dancing song' as 'a tightly knit rhythmic song sung while a kind of stationary dance was executed', citing as examples the moving trees in *Lord Hay's Masque* and the stars in *Lords' Masque*. Zepherus and two Silvans in *Lord Hay's Masque* sing 'and going up and downe as they song, they strowed flowers all about the place' (215), and in *Love Freed* twelve Muses' Priests sing 'to a measure' (Jonson, *Works*, vii. 367).

13-14. **Strong and Manly, . . . No Treble:** Bacon is objecting to boy sopranos; cf. below, line 30, 'not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*', and Marston,

*Antonio and Mellida*, Part I, 'Fut, what treble minikin squeaks there, ha?' (III. ii. 31). Campion often includes trebles in his dialogue songs; Jonson's *Blacknesse* (1605) has a song of two trebles with double echo, and his *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) includes two trebles in a part-song. See also the fairies in *Oberon*.

**15-16. Severall Quires, . . . Antheme wise:** i.e. groups (or 'choirs') of instruments or voices of a single type placed about the room so that one group alternates and responds to the other, antiphonally. See detailed specifications in Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque*.

**16. taking . . . Catches:** i.e. in fragments or phrases.

**17. Turning . . . Figure:** the masquers in Jonson's *Beautie* (1608) end 'a most curious *Daunce*, full of excellent device, and change . . . in the figure of a Diamant' (Jonson, *Works*, vii. 191); they form the letters of the bridegroom's name in *Hymenaei* (1606), Prince Charles's initials in *Queenes* (1609), those of three members of the royal family in Robert White's *Cupid's Banishment* (1617) (John Nichols, *The Progresses . . . of James I* [London, 1828], iii. 295), and a pyramid with Prince Charles at the apex in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) (Sabot).

**17-18. childish Curiosity:** cf. Bacon's similar criticism of '*Images Cut out in Juniper, or other Garden stuffe*' (XLVI. 127-8).

**21. Alterations of Scenes, . . . quietly:** for masque machinery, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*; A Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (New York, 1938); L. B. Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage* (Cambridge, 1923). Lawrence, *Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans*, pp. 135-6, believes Bacon is criticizing a specific scene change in Chapman's *Memorable Masque* (1613) in which the Rock opens 'mooving and breaking with a cracke' (Chapman, *The Comedies*, p. 571); in fact, Chapman's own treatment of this effect is satiric. Rather, Bacon may be pointing to the distraction of noisy stage machinery used to effect the spectacular transformations. The call for 'Loud musique' at the moment of the scene change in many masques was one way producers sought to minimize the 'Noise'. The two masques associated with Bacon reflect the essay's concern: in *Flowers*, 'loud music again sounded', and a painted cloth lowered, 'the banks of flowers softly descending and vanishing' (p. 168) as the masquers appeared; in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, the scene changes required only the drawing of traverse curtains (pp. 134, 141).

**24. Light, . . . Varied:** Inigo Jones once termed masques 'nothing but pictures with Light and Motion' (Jonson: *The Complete Masques*, ed. S. Orgel [New Haven, 1969], 15). Spectacular lighting effects utilizing reflectors, coloured lamps, and sequined costumes (see below, lines 33-4) were a feature of the scene transformation. See the detailed description in Daniel's *Tethys Festival* (1610) 'in the language of the architector who contrived it' (Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 194) and the House of Fame in Jonson's *Queenes*.

**31. Well Placed:** i.e. for ease of hearing and special antiphonal and echoic effects. See especially Campion's masques.

**31-2. Colours, . . . Candlelight:** the recommended colours are used

in the two Bacon masques: in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, the Olympian knights are dressed head to toe in carnation satin, the priest-musicians in white taffeta, and the Naiads of the first antimasque in 'sea-green taffeta'; in *Flowers*, the main masquers wear white satin, richly embroidered in carnation silk and satin. Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 46, add gold, silver, and watchet blue to the list.

33. **Oes, or Spangs:** circular reflectors and sequins sewn to costumes. 'Honour' in Chapman's *Memorable Masque* wears a silver mantle and 'a vaille of net lawne, embroidered with Oos and Spangl'd' (Chapman, *The Comedies*, p. 567); the lights of the torch-bearers are placed so that 'the least spangle or spark of the Maskers rich habites, might with ease and clearenesse be discerned as far off as the state' (569).

34-5. **Rich Embroidery, . . . not Discerned:** Bacon may be speaking from sad experience here, for the librettos of both masques he underwrote contain unusually detailed descriptions of the embroidered suits of the main masquers (*A Book of Masques*, pp. 140-1, 169).

35-7. **Sutes . . . Vizars are off:** the masquers removed their masks and approached the throne at the end of many performances. Cf. Dudley Carleton's objections to the sight of the Queen and her ladies maskless and their faces painted black at the end of *Blacknesse* (1605) (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii. 376).

37-8. **Not . . . Mariners:** untraced to extant masques—unless 'Soldiers' may be thought to include the various knights that appear so often. There are 'Skippers' in Campion's *Squires* and 'Saylors' in Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph*, but in both cases they appear in the antimasques, not the main masque. (For the former, see 'The Sailors Masque', Sabol, No. 98; *Works*, ed. Davis (Garden City, NY, 1967), p. 275; for 'Turks', see 'Turquets', below, line 41 n.)

38-9. **Antimasques:** Jonson introduced such a 'foyle, or false-Masque', i.e. a grotesque episode of music and dance, as a contrast to the stately main masque in 1609 in *Queenens*. (The foil technique was used as early as a 1519 entertainment according to Sydney Anglo; cited in Sabol, p. 13.) It was often performed by professionals. The Court's delight in antimasques (e.g., *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, in *A Book of Masques*, p. 138), and the King's frequent call for encores, led naturally to their increasing prominence in the masque and to the introduction of additional antimasques, often very loosely associated 'antics' remotely related to the main theme. Both Bacon masques contain two antimasques, exceedingly various. Jonson, while he continued to provide antimasques, mocks their popularity in *Augurs* (1622) and in *Neptune's Triumph* (Jonson, *Works*, vii. 638, 688-92). See G. E. Bentley's succinct analysis in *A Book of Masques*, pp. 6-11.

39-42. **commonly . . . and the like:** most may be linked to specific works.

39. **Fooles:** there are twelve 'shee-fooles' in Jonson's *Love Freed* and a he-fool and she-fool in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*.

40. **Satyres:** in Jonson's *Oberon*.

**Baboones:** 'a mock-Maske of Baboons, attir'd like fantasticall



Travailleurs' appears in Chapman's *Memorable Masque* (p. 565); a he-baboon and a she-baboon in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*; and two others in Browne's *Ulysses and Circe* (1614).

**Wilde-Men:** cf. the 'six wild men clothed in leaves' who appear in the dumb show before Act I in *Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex* (1565) by Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, and the Savage Man in the 1575 Killingworth Castle entertainment (Nichols, *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth* [1823], i. 436). *OED* includes Indians under the term, but the Indians in the masques are not depicted as savages.

**Antiques:** i.e. antics ('a grotesque or motley company', *OED*, s.v. 3b). A group of humours and perverse affections appear in *Hymenaei* and twelve boys accompany Cupid 'most antickly attyr'd' in *Haddington* (1608); assorted 'Franticks' are led by Mania in Campion's *Lords' Masque*.

**Beasts:** goats dance in *For the Honour of Wales* (1617) and birds ('*Volatees*', 'like men, but . . . a sort of Fowle, in part covered with feathers') in *News from the New World* (1620) (Jonson, *Works*, vii. 522). John Urson, a bear-ward, leads three dancing bears in Jonson's *Augurs* (1622); Circe's victims are part beast in *Ulysses and Circe*.

**Sprites:** i.e. 'Spirits'; the first antimasque in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* is 'all of spirits or divine natures: but yet not of one kind or livery' (*A Book of Masques*, p. 133); see also the torch-bearers in Campion's *Lords' Masque*, 'Pages like fierie spirits' and 'Phantasmes' in Jonson's *Vision of Delight* (1617).

**41. Witches:** in Jonson's *Queenes*.

**Ethiopes:** the main masquers in Jonson's *Blacknesse*, but not traced in an antimasque.

**Pigmies:** in Jonson's *Pleasure Reconci'd to Virtue*.

**Turquets:** Abbott conjectures 'Turkish dwarfs'; in French, a breed of Renaissance dog, though surely too restricted a meaning for this list. Neither has been traced to the masques. *OED* deems it a nonce word, a possible misprint for 'Turques' (spelled 'Turks' above, line 38). Sabol includes 'The Turks' Dance' (No. 69) and identifies it with the second antimasque promised by Van-goose in Jonson's *Augurs*. Another possibility is to consider the lemma as a corruption of 'turkeys'. Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 380-1, reproduce 'possible' designs for the contents of the cooking-pot antimasque in *Neptune's Triumph*, including one for a turkey.

**41. Nymphs:** in *Ulysses and Circe* and *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*.

**Rusticks:** in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*.

**42. Cupids:** four cupids are among the spirits in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (see line 40 n.) and twelve boys representing 'sports, and prettie lightnesses, that accompanie Love' in Jonson's *Haddington*.

**Statua's Moving:** in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* and Campion's *Lords' Masque*.

**42-5. Angels, . . . unfit:** Sabol identifies 'The Devils' Dance' (Nos. 138, 277, 278; p. 581 n. 138) with the opening antimasque of fiends in Campion's *Squires Masque* (1613); antimasques of angels and giants



have not been traced. Bacon may be arguing for a decorum in anti-masques rather than attacking particular cases here.

**45-6. Musicke . . . strange Changes:** cf. the detailed description of Hags' dancing in *Queenes* (Jonson, *Works*, vii. 301), and the mixed dance of Nymphs, Stars, Cupids, and Statuas in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (*A Book of Masques*, pp. 133-4; also Sabol, p. 13).

**46-7. Sweet Odours, . . . falling:** Lawrence, *Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans*, p. 137, suggests that Bacon is praising the 'Mist made of delicate perfumes' out of which Truth and Opinion emerged in Jonson's *The Barriers* (1606) and condemning the shower of perfumed rain in *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*.

**49-50. Double Masques, . . . Ladies:** see Jonson's *Hymenaei*, in which eight men as humours and affections and eight women as Powers of Juno danced, and Campion's *Lords' Masque*, in which transformed Stars danced with transformed Statues.

**51. except the Roome be kept Cleare:** again Bacon speaks at first hand. *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* had to be postponed at the last moment when, after a triumphant approach by the masquers upon the Thames, the crowding of the hall by spectators proved too great to proceed with the actual masque. See Beaumont's account in a letter to Bacon (*A Book of Masques*, p. 133), and Chamberlain's letter of 18 February 1612/13 (*Letters*, i. 426).

**52. Justs, . . . Barriers:** all three involve the encounter of armed knights in a context of chivalric ritual and pageantry: *Justs* ('jousts') and *Tourneys* (known collectively as 'tilts') were fought on horseback with blunted lances, barriers on foot with short swords and pikes. Barriers, with scripts by Jonson before and after the encounters, were offered as part of the Essex-Howard wedding in 1606 as *Hymenaei, or the Solemnities and Barriers at a Marriage*, in which Truth and Opinion presided over a combat of thirty-two knights, and in 1610 as *Prince Henry's Barriers*, in which the young Prince bore arms for the first time and, assisted by six fellow knights, fought sword and 'push of pike' with fifty-six defendants (*Works*, vii. 323 ff.; Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 163-8). In 1613/14, *A Challenge at Tilt* prefaced the battle with a debate between cupids representing the love of man and woman.

Tourneys were also staged before the monarch on Accession Day and special State occasions. (See F. A. Yates, 'Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilt', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 4-25, and the calendar of Jacobean tilts in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 179-80.) Specific details of individual tilts are scarce (though see below, line 56). Stow's *Annales* (1615), 4G1, provides an account of the 'Glories' of the tilt marking the creation of Henry Prince of Wales in 1609/10.

**53-5. Chariots, . . . with Strange Beasts:** I have not found any description of this practice at the tilts, though the Earl of Rutland paid for a chariot at the 1614 tilt (Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 180). Jonson uses triumphal chariots drawn by beasts in the masques: in *Oberon*, the fairy prince enters 'to a lowd triumphant musique . . .

drawne by two white beares' (Jonson, *Works*, vii. 351), and in *Queenes* the principal masquers enter in three chariots drawn by eagles, griffins, and lions.

**56. Devices of their Entrance:** each competitor carried a shield expressing his *device*, or invented symbol and motto for the tournament (cf. *Pericles*, II. ii). These *impresa* shields, painted on pasteboard (see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i, Plates 49 and 51), were presented to the sovereign, possibly with a speech of interpretation by the knight's squire. Nichols, *Progresses*, ii. 759, prints a list of participants and the mottos of their devices for the 1613/14 King's Day tilt. Cf. Nashe's satiric account of a tilt in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) (*Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow [1904], ii. 271-8).

**Bravery of their Liveries; . . . Armour:** see Stow's account noted above, line 52. Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 163-8, include sketches by Jones for costumes and properties, including a horse caparison (Plate 47) and an elephant pageant (Plate 45), the latter probably the focus of a satiric account of the 1609/10 tilt recorded in Nichols, *Progresses*, ii. 287. See also the portraits by Nicholas Hilliard of the Earls of Cumberland and Essex attired for Elizabethan tournaments c. 1590-5 (Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, i. 45); Yates, 'Elizabethan Chivalry', p. 2.

### XXXVIII. 'Of Nature and Men' (pp. 118-20)

**7. Custome . . . Nature:** the essay is in part a reaction to Aristotle, *Nicom. Eth.* ii. 9. 4-5; cf. *AL* iii. 439.

**9. too great, nor too small:** *AL*, *ibid.*

**18-19. say . . . Letters:** see XXVII. 190-2.

**24-5. Optimus . . . semel:** 'He is the best protector of his mind who has burst the chains binding his heart and once for all stops grieving.' Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 293-4 (reading 'Optimus ille sui vindex . . .').

**26. Ancient Rule:** cf. Aristotle, *Nicom. Eth.* ii. 9, 'εἰς τὸναντίον δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀφέλκεω δεῖ· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπάγοντες τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἤξομεν, ὅπερ οἱ τὰ διεστραμμένα τῶν ξύλων ὀρθοῦντες ποιοῦσιν' ('We must pull ourselves back to the opposite extreme; for by bringing ourselves far from error we shall come to the mean, just as people do when they straighten crooked pieces of wood'); see *AL* iii. 439.

**31-2. ever . . . Errours:** Wright compares Cicero, *De oratore*, i. 33.

**36. buried . . . yet revive:** cf. *Ant. R.* 10, iv. 476-7 (i. 692), 'Custom against nature is a kind of tyranny, and is soon and upon slight occasions overthrown'.

**37-8. Æsopes Damosell, . . . Catt:** Wright cites Babrius, Fable 32; and Reynolds cites *Aesopi fabulae graecolatinae*, ed. Neveletus (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1610), Fable 172, noting that the disaster occurred in the bridal chamber, not 'at the Boards End'.

**46-7. Multum . . . Anima mea:** 'Often my soul has been a stranger.' Ps. 120: 6 (Vulgate) ('My soule hath long dwelt with him that hateth

peace', AV). Bacon elsewhere applies this quotation to the clash in his own life between the active and contemplative vocations: in 1605, in a letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, enclosed with a copy of *AL* (x. 253), and again in 1621, in a prayer composed after his removal from office:

Besides my innumerable sins, I confess before thee, that I am debtor to thee for the gracious talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a napkin, nor put it (as I ought) to exchangers, where it might have made best profit; but misspent it in things for which I was least fit; so as I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage. (xiv. 230-1)

Ironically, he had used the same quotation in a letter ten years earlier in which he urged the King to make more use of him in State business (xi. 281-2).

### XXXIX. 'Of Custome and Education' (pp. 120-2)

**4-7. Mens Thoughts . . . Accustomed:** *Ant. R.* 10, iv. 476 (i. 692).

**7-14. Macciavel . . . in Blood:** *Discorsi*, iii. 6, discussing political assassinations:

Indeed it is impossible for any man, even though of firm courage and wonted to killing men and to the use of steel, not to be bewildered. Hence men experienced in such affairs should be chosen and no others trusted, though held very courageous. About courage in important matters no one without experience can promise himself certainty. (Gilbert, i. 441).

**14. Friar Clement:** Jacques Clement assassinated King Henry III of France on 2 August 1589. Cf. IIII. 40-1.

**15. Ravillac:** François Ravillac killed King Henry IV of France on 4 May 1610.

**Jaureguy:** John Jaureguy severely wounded Prince William of Orange in the head on 18 March 1582.

**Baltazar Gerard:** Gerard murdered Prince William on 10 July 1584.

**18. Men of the first Blood:** i.e. those drawing blood, killing, for the first time.

**19-20. votary Resolution . . . Blood:** i.e. the resolve to murder extracted by solemn vow. Bacon details recent assassinations and attempted assassinations in France and England in 'Charge against William Talbot', xii. 7, brought against an Irish MP accused in 1613/14 of accepting the view that murder of a heretical king could be lawful. Cf. Bacon's comment on the kingdom of the Assassins, which practised votary murder: 'This custom, without all question, made their whole government void, as an engine built against human society, worthy by all men to be fired and pulled down' (vii. 33).

**27-30. Indians . . . Wise Men . . . Husbands:** Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* V. xvii. 78-8.

**30-1. Lads of Sparta . . . Altar of Diana:** Montaigne, ii. 32 (2N3<sup>v</sup>-2N4).

**31-2. without . . . Queching:** *OED* defines 'quetch' as both 'wince or twitch' (4a) and 'utter a sound' (4b, 'usually in negative clauses'). Both meanings make sense here; the fact that both Montaigne and Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* II. xiv. 34), Bacon's probable sources, mention the failure to cry out supports the latter meaning.

**35-6. hanged in a With, . . . Rebels:** Bacon's 'I remember' (line 32) may be a literary recollection. Wright quotes the appeal to the judge, in stage Irish, of the rebel in *The First Part . . . of the life of Sir John Old-Castle* (1600), K3<sup>v</sup>, 'Prethee Lord shudge let me have mine own clothes, my strouces [breeches] there, and let me bee hangd in a with after my cuntry, the Irish fashion' (ed. W. W. Greg [Malone Soc., 1908]). Cf. also Holinshed, *The Second volume of Chronicles*, ii (1587), Q2 (Reynolds).

**36-8. Monkes in Russia, . . . Ice:** for Russian tolerance of cold and ice, though not this particular example, compare Giles Fletcher the Elder, *The Russe Commonwealth* (1591), in *English Works*, ed. L. E. Berry (Madison, 1964), 274-5, 291-2, 301 (Wright).

**40. Custome . . . Magistrate:** cf. *Ant. R.* 10, iv. 476 (i. 692), 'Nature is a schoolmaster, custom a magistrate'.

**55-6. Force . . . Exaltation:** custom's force in communities and societies dedicated to education is compared to a planet which is in that station in the zodiac from which it exerts its greatest influence. (See *OED*, s.v. 4.)

**60-1. Misery . . . least to be desired:** Reynolds suggests a reference to the Jesuit colleges and compares *AL* iii. 276-7:

of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, *quo meliores, eo deteriores* [the better they are, the worse]; yet in regard of this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say as Agesilaus said to his enemy Pharnabazus, *talis quum sis, utinam noster esses* [you are so good that I wish you were on our side].

Another passage, in *De Aug.* iv. 494-5 (i. 709-11), singles out Jesuit pedagogy and parallels the essay's remarks on the value of an educational community (lines 52-5).

## XL. 'Of Fortune' (pp. 122-4)

**6. Faber quisque Fortunae suæ:** 'Each man is maker of his own fortune.' Bacon traces the saying to a line in Plautus (*Trinummus*, 363) in *AL* iii. 454. A favourite saying of Sir Nicholas Bacon ('verus quisque suae fortunae faber'), according to Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641), D1<sup>v</sup>. R. C. Cochrane, 'Francis Bacon and the Architect of Fortune', *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1958), 176-95, examines the centrality of this concept to Bacon's thought.



8. Folly . . . Another: *Ant. R.* 11, iv. 477 (i. 693).

9-10. *Serpens* . . . *Draco*: 'A serpent must eat another serpent before he can become a dragon.' Erasmus, *Adagia*, s.v. '*Serpens*'; Tilley S228; cf. L354, 'The little cannot be great unless he devours many'; also O63.

10-12. *Overt*, . . . *Fortune*: *Ant. R.* 11, loc. cit.

14. *Desemboltura*: Reynolds asserts that there is 'no such word' and proposes '*desenvoltura*', which he glosses as 'easy carriage, grace of movement'. No emendation is necessary, however; the copy-text reading (a phonetic orthography for '*desenvoltura*') appears in John Mishne's *Vocabularium Hispanico-Latinum et Anglicum* . . . *A most copious Spanish dictionarie, with Latin and English* (London, 1617), G1<sup>v</sup>, and is glossed by the Latin word '*agilitas*'. *Cassell's Spanish-English Dictionary* (New York, 1966) defines '*desenvoltura*' as 'grace, ease; assurance'. See the discussion of ink corrections in 12*b* in the Textual Introduction for evidence of additional difficulty with the word in the printing-house.

17. *Cato Major*: Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 BC), 'Cato the Censor', sought to return Roman society to its primitive simplicity.

18-20. *In* . . . *videretur*: 'In this man there was such strength of body and mind that no matter where he had been born, it would have seemed that he was going to make Fortune for himself.' Paraphrase of Livy, xxxix. 40, 'In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingeniiue . . . sibi facturus fuisse videretur'.

20. *Versatile Ingenium*: 'adaptable nature or disposition', *ibid.*; quoted by Montaigne and glossed, 'a wit so turneable', iii. 3 (2T2<sup>v</sup>).

22-3. *Fortune*: . . . *Invisible*: cf. Tilley F604, 'Fortune [Justice] is blind'. Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, V1<sup>v</sup>-V2:

we do her [Fortune] wrong in reproching her for blindnesse, when we runne upon her as we doe, blinde, and debasing our selves unto her; for how can wee chuse but stumble upon her indeed, if we plucke out our owne eies, to wit, our wisdom and dexteritie of counsell, and take a blinde guide to lead us by the hand in the course of this our life?

23-7. *Way* . . . *Fortunate*: *Ant. R.* 11, loc. cit., 'Fortune is like the milky way; a cluster of obscure virtues without a name'.

31. *Poco di Matto*: 'A little of the fool.'

38. *Entreprenant*: 'enterprising; forward, adventurous; that cares as little for his flesh as another' (R. Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* [1611], gives *entrepreneur* as a noun).

*Remuant*: 'often moving, stirring, figging; . . . ever flitting' (*ibid.*). 'Remoouing (remuant)' appears in a list of phrases in *Promus*, fo. 126<sup>v</sup>.

40-1. *Daughters*, . . . *Reputation*: *Ant. R.* 11, loc. cit., gives them as 'Confidence and Authority'.

42-4. *All Wise Men*, . . . *Fortune*: *ibid.*, 'Great men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, turn worshippers of fortune'.

47-8. *Cæsarem* . . . *eius*: 'You carry Caesar and his Fortune.' Plutarch,



*Lives*, 'Caesar', 3V1-3V1<sup>v</sup> (cf. Plutarch, trans. Xylander [Frankfurt-on-Main, 1580], 3H3<sup>v</sup>, 'Caesarem vehis, et Caesaris una fortunam').

48. **Sylla . . . Felix, and not of Magnus:** Lucius Cornelius Sulla (see XV. 215-16), spoken at the end of a triumph; Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Sylla', iii. 272.

51. **Timotheus:** Athenian general (fl. 378-354 BC). North's marginal note (ibid.) links Bacon's examples: 'Timotheus Athenian, would not attribute the glory of his doings to fortune. Sylla gave fortune the honor of all his doings.'

55-8. **like Homers Verses, . . . or Epaminondas:** Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Timoleon', 2C2. (Again, North's marginal note focuses upon Bacon's topic: 'Timoleon attributeth his good successe unto fortune.') Timoleon (d. c. 334 BC) was a Corinthian who liberated Sicily from military dictators and Carthaginian invaders; Agesilaus (444-360 BC), the Spartan king, was defeated at the battle of Leuctra by Epaminondas the Theban (d. 362 BC).

## XLI. 'Of Usurie' (pp. 124-9)

The essay is a reworking of a draft proposal submitted to Secretary Conway for the King's perusal, describing himself in exile as 'a man out of sight and out of use, but yet his' (xiv. 409):

I was looking over some short papers of mine touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it [see lines 75-6], and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill, in good sort, without discontent or perturbation. If you think good, I will perfite it and send it to his Majesty, as some fruits of my leisure. But yet I would not have it come as from me: not for any tenderness in the thing, but because I know well in the courts of Princes it is usual *non res*, *sed displicet author* [not the thing, but the author displeases]. (410)

A few days later he sends it on, terming it 'only a brief tractate of that subject' (414). Substantive variants between the essay and the tractate (Cn) are recorded in the Historical Collation.

Bacon's specific proposals do not appear to have had any direct effect on the legislation passed on 26 April (21 James I, c. 17), which reduced the allowed rate for all loans to 8 per cent.

Usury was a popular and virulent issue in the sermons, pamphlets, and drama of the period: see R. H. Tawney's introduction to Willson's *A Discourse upon Usury* (1572) (1925); C. T. Wright, 'Some Conventions Regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature', *SP* 31 (1934), 176-97; A. Leggatt, *Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare* (Toronto, 1973). Bacon draws upon this tradition in the essay, but he also knew the problem at first hand, for his own finances were marked by heavy borrowing. He died so far in debt that the terms of his will setting up university lectureships in natural philosophy could not be fulfilled because of the claims of his creditors (xiv. 544, 546). See *Works*, *passim*,

especially, ix. 27-8, 106-8 (arrest for debt, 1598), 204-6; x. 40-4, 79-82 (note of debts, 1603); xi. 81-9 (analysis of estate and debts, 1608); xiii. 326-36 (accounts, including interest payments, 1618). As a judge, he ruled against a money-lender 'inasmuch as such unconscionable usury and brokage had been paid for the debt' (£561 had been paid in interest on an original loan of £100 by the borrower and his surety) (*Report of Cases*, pp. 143-4).

4. the Devill: cf. the character attributed to John Webster, 'A Devilish Usurer' (1615) (*The Overburian Characters*, ed. W. J. Paylor [Oxford, 1936]).

4-5. Gods part, . . . the Tithe: Lev. 27: 30. One-tenth of the annual produce or income was owed to support religion. The maximum interest allowed was 10 per cent at the time Bacon wrote his paper of advice (37 Henry VIII, c. 9; renewed 13 Eliz., c. 8, 39 Eliz., c. 18). The wit of this particular invective had been diminished by 25, however, with the rate lowered to 8 per cent.

6. Plough . . . Sunday: i.e. interest works every day.

8. Ignavum . . . arcent: 'They drive the slothful herd of drones from the hives.' Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 168.

10-11. In sudore . . . tuum: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread.' Gen. 3: 19 (Vulgate).

11. In . . . alieni: 'In the sweat of another's face.' Cf. H. Smith, *The Examination of Usurie, in two Sermons* (1591), B1<sup>v</sup>-B2:

When God set *Adam* his worke, he sayd; *In the sweate of thy browes shalt thou live*: not in the sweate of his browes, but in the sweate of thy browes; but the Usurer liveth in the sweat of his browes, and her browes: that is, by the paines and cares, and labours of another, for he taketh no paines himselfe, but onely expecteth the time when his interest will come in, like the belly which doth no worke, and yet eateth all the meate.

12. Usurers . . . Orange-tawney Bonnets: the Lateran Council (1215) required every Jew in Christendom to wear a badge upon his outer garment fashioned in the form of the tablets of the Commandments; in medieval England the badge was yellow. (See C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 3rd edn. [Oxford, 1964], 95-6, and J. Selden, 'Of the Jewes sometimes living in England', *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 3rd edn. [1617], Q3). The Jews were expelled in 1290, not to return officially until the late seventeenth century, though a small community, nominally New Christians, lived in England at the end of Elizabeth's reign and in the early years of James's. Scott suggests that Bacon's reference may derive from the red and yellow turbans which Thomas Coryat observed the Jews of the Ghetto in Venice wearing in 1611 (*Coryats Crudities* [1612], S4-S5).

13. doe Judaize: 'To play the Jew; to follow Jewish customs or religious rites' (*OED*). The earliest citation is the Rheims New Testament (1582). Bacon is the first to apply the term to a secular context. H. Smith's first sermon develops the commonplace that 'there be no

such Usurers upon earth, as the *Jewes*' (A6), a view not only pervasive in usury literature, but on the stage from Marlowe's *Barabas* to the racial stereotypes portrayed in 'Mammon the usurer, with a great nose' in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1600) or Pisaro in *Englishmen for my Money* (1598) (Leggatt, *Citizen Comedy*, p. 28). The commonplace is clearly at variance with the facts in Bacon's England. As Sir Thomas Culpeper notes in 1621, 'generally all merchants, when they have gotten any great wealth, leave trading and fall to usury, the gain thereof being so easy, certain, and great' (quoted by Stone, p. 532). Stone's study of loans to peers from 1580 to 1620 demonstrates that many of the city magnates—merchants, goldsmiths, aldermen, as well as lawyers and Government officials—were prominent money-lenders (pp. 532–8). Thomas Sutton had nearly £45,000 out at interest at the time of his death (Stone, p. 534; cf. XXXIII. 106). Bacon himself frequently borrowed from Michael Hickee, one of Cecil's secretaries. (See A. G. R. Smith, *Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hickee* [1977]).

**against Nature, . . . Money:** the *locus classicus* is Aristotle, *Polit.* I. iii. 23 (Wright). Cf. H. Smith, *The Examination of Usurie*, B2; the discussion between Shylock and Antonio in *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 94–5, 134 ('a breed for barren metal'); Tilley M1053, 'Money begets money'. In *Henry 7*, vi. 87, Bacon describes usury as 'the bastard use of money'.

**14–15. Concessum . . . Cordis:** 'Concession on account of hardness of heart'; cf. Matt. 19 (Wright). The orthodox objection to usury was based upon the apparent violation of Christian charity in taking advantage of an individual in need. Cf. also *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 132–7.

**19. Bankes:** i.e. a joint stock or capital made up by the contributions of many (*OED*, s.v. 5, earliest citation). Bacon neither here nor below (lines 109–10) defines the nature of the 'certain suspicions' he holds regarding banks. Although there were proposals to establish public banks in England like those on the Continent, none was established until the Restoration period. (See Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, 2nd edn., viii [1937], 177–92.)

**Discovery of Mens Estates:** i.e. the publication of the details of individual estates. In August 1612, Bacon served on a Royal Commission which criticized similar proposed revelations (xi. 325). See the fuller account in *Cn*, ('Ob. 2') quoted in the Historical Collation.

**20. usefully:** a major theme of the *Essays* (cf. 'Epistle Dedicatorie', lines 14–15, 'they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes').

**22–3. warily . . . worse:** Reynolds compares the concluding section of *Cn*, which refers to the 'Bridge from the present practise, to the Reformation' and the need to protect against abuses during this transition, but the lemma appears merely to be justifying the thorough consideration of advantages and disadvantages in the discussion that follows.

**28. Vena Porta:** 'Gate vein.' See XIX. 141 n.

**37. Game:** *Cn*, 25 (*second state corr.*); *Gaine* 25(u). The stop-press correction, which sustains the explicit gambling imagery of the sentence, may imply consultation of copy. The uncorrected reading is

explained most plausibly as a misreading by the compositor through minim confusion.

**55-6. forced . . . farre under Foot:** Reynolds compares 'such commodities are bought at extreme high rates, and sold again far under foot to a double loss' (xiv. 420). In 1595 Bacon found himself in such a position and petitioned his friends Maynard and Hicke for help in meeting a deadline only twelve days away (ix. 28).

**57. Usury doth but Gnaw:** traditional image for usury, e.g. H. Smith, *The Examination of Usurie*, A7<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Bacon's letter to Conway above, 'papers of mine touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it', and below, lines 75-6.

**60-1. looke . . . Forfeiture:** cf. Shylock's refusal to accept anything but the literal terms of his bond with Antonio in *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 206 ff.

**61-4. I remember . . . Bonds:** the individual remains unidentified, but the attitude expressed is a popular view of the grasping usurer. Cf. similar insensitivity in the land seizure by Sir Giles Overreach in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, II. i (edd. Edwards and Gibson [Oxford, 1976]).

**68. Abolishing of Usury is Idle:** cf. the conclusion, lines 123-6. The statute of 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 20 (1551-2), which prohibited usury utterly, proved the point, for it both failed to halt the practice and, without the earlier restraints in place, produced widespread abuses. The Elizabethan statute of 1571 noted these abuses and restored the Henrican laws of 1545 which condemned usury, but set 10 per cent as the highest allowable rate.

**70. must be sent to Utopia:** i.e. to Sir Thomas More's ideal commonwealth (= 'no place') (Latin version, 1516; trans. R. Robynson, 1551), where no property exists, and hence no usury; even precious metals and jewels are despised.

**82. wil be to seeke:** i.e. 'will have difficulty finding (money)'.

**86-7. Free, . . . All:** i.e. anyone may lend at this lower rate.

**89-90. reduced to Five . . . Hundred:** i.e. reduced to one-half of the maximum interest allowed at the time Bacon's paper was drafted. The law passed in 1624 did not adopt Bacon's suggestion of two rates, but merely reduced the highest allowable rate to 8 per cent.

**91-2. shut . . . Penalty:** i.e. the State will not take a cut of the interest rate on these general, private loans. See lines 111-12.

**95. at Sixteene yeares Purchase:** Reynolds cites Chamberlain (9 November 1620) as evidence that shorter mortgages were available: 'yf you have monie you may buy goode land at thirteene or fowreteene yeares purchase' (*Letters*, ii. 328).

**111. answered, some small Matter:** in *Cn*, Bacon suggests that the King take 1 per cent of the 9 per cent rate proposed.

**119-20. Colour . . . Moneyes:** i.e. lend using others' moneys as if their own.

**121-2. send . . . farre off:** *Cn*, 25(u); 'Lend . . . off' 25(c). See the Textual Introduction, p. civ, n. 111.



**123-4. in a Sort, Authorize Usury:** cf. Anon., *The Death of Usury, or the Disgrace of Usurers* (1594), D1<sup>v</sup>, commenting on 37 Henry VIII, c. 9:

This Statute is intituled an act against *usurie*, it doth not perswade any to take *Usury*, but restraine him to certaine orders, the husbandman suffereth many weedes to grow in his ground he likes not, so this law doth tolerate that it allowes not, it remits men of punishment that take but 10. in the 100. but it doeth not warrant them to take any at all.

## XLII. 'Of Youth and Age' (pp. 130-2)

Cf. *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 319-20 (ii. 211-12), where the view of youth is more positive.

**6. not . . . Second:** cf. Tilley T247, 'Second Thoughts are best', Euripides, *Hippolytus*, line 436.

**9-10. Imaginations . . . Divinely:** cf. *Ant. R.* 3, iv. 473 (i. 689), 'First thoughts and young man's counsels have more of divineness'.

**13. Julius Caesar:** Caesar (c. 102-44 BC) did not fight the Gallic wars until his mid-forties and was voted four triumphs in 46 BC when he was in his fifties, the same year in which he became dictator.

**Septimius Severus:** Severus (AD 146-211) was forty-seven when he was proclaimed emperor in AD 193.

**14-15. Iuventutem . . . plenam:** 'He spent a youth full of errors, nay more, of madnesses.' Paraphrase of A. Spartianus, 'Severus', *Script. Hist. Aug.* ii, 'Iuventam plenam furorum, nonnumquam et criminum habuit' (Markby). Cf. *Apoph.* vii. 139, 'It was said of Augustus, and afterwards the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good towards their ends; *That they should either have never been born or never died*'.

**15-16. Ablest . . . List:** Spartianus' account is not so positive and that of Dio Cassius (quoted II. 45) is quite negative. Herodian, III. xv. 3, however, praises Severus as the greatest military figure of the emperors and contrasts him with Julius Caesar as victors in civil wars (III. vii. 8).

**17. Augustus Caesar:** Octavius (63 BC-AD 14), first Roman emperor, was adopted son and heir of Julius Caesar. He defeated the conspirators at Philippi, formed a triumvirate with Lepidus and Antonius, and then, having got rid of Lepidus, vanquished Antonius at Actium to assume total control by his early thirties. See 'Character of Augustus Caesar', vi. 347.

**Cosmos Duke of Florence:** Cosimo I de Medici became Duke of Florence at the age of seventeen. Cf. III. 29-33 nn.

**18. Gaston de Foix:** Reynolds favours Gaston III (1331-91), called 'Phoebus' for his youthful beauty. Froissart (*Cronycle*, trans. Berners [1523-5]) visited his court and portrays him at fifty-nine as a chivalric



paragon (ch. XXVI), but the constant quarrels of his early life and his fatal imprisoning of his own son do not fit the essay. Rather, a later Gaston (1489-1512), who died at twenty-three leading victorious French troops against the Holy League (proposed by Abbott), is more likely. *The Historie of Guicciardini*, trans. G. Fenton (1579), prints his speech to his troops (3C4-3C5) and laments his youthful death (3C6<sup>v</sup>).

19. Age: i.e. old age.

20-1. Fitter . . . Counsell: cf. Plutarch, *Morals*, 2K4, 'For to speake truely, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that citie or State is preserved, wherein the sage counsels of the elders and the martiall prowesse of the yonger, beare sway together' (Reynolds).

31. absurdly: 'unreasonably'; modifies 'Pursue', line 30.

Care not to Innovate: *Harmony* suggests that the phrase is 'evidently misplaced, and is an error of Age'. Though most would agree that youth very much cares about innovation and that, hence, *Harmony's* objection is just, *OED*, s.v. 2c, provides a gloss for what may have been Bacon's intended reading here: youth 'Care not to Innovate' in the sense that they are not careful when they innovate. The focus throughout the paragraph is upon youth's haste and carelessness. The phrase is omitted in 38 (*Latin*).

46-7. A certaine Rabbine: Wright identifies him as the rabbinical scholar Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508).

47-8. Your Young Men . . . dreames: Joel 2: 28 (clauses reversed).

49. admitted . . . Old: cf. *AL* iii. 276.

57-8. Hermogenes . . . waxed Stupid: Hermogenes of Tarsus, rhetorician of the second century AD, was a child prodigy who failed as a mature speaker, but produced textbooks still cited in the Renaissance. The negative view derives from Philostratus, *De vitis sophist.* ii. 27 (Wright).

62-3. Idem . . . decebat: 'He remained the same when the same was not fitting.' Paraphrase of Cicero, *Brutus*, 95, 'remanebat idem nec decebat idem'. Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (114-50 BC) was an adroit practitioner of the new 'Asiatic' style of law-pleading as a young man, but continued this theatrical style even as an older speaker.

### XLIII. 'Of Beauty' (pp. 132-3)

The essay treats human beauty and its moral implications rather than aesthetics. See *AL* iii. 435-6; A. P. McMahon, 'Francis Bacon's Essay *Of Beauty*', *PMLA* 60 (1945), 720-1.

3. Vertue . . . best plaine set: *Ant. R.* 2, iv. 473 (i. 689); Tilley V79; *Promus*, fo. 84<sup>v</sup>, 'A stone without foyle'.

5-6. rather Dignity . . . Aspect: Reynolds compares Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 36, 'Again, there are two orders of beauty: in the one, loveliness predominates; in the other, dignity; of these we ought to regard

loveliness ['venustatem'] as the attribute of woman, and dignity ['dignitatem'] as the attribute of man (Loeb).

6-7. **very Beautifull . . . great Vertue:** cf. *Ant. R.* 2, iv. 473 (i. 689), 'Virtue is nothing but inward beauty; beauty nothing but outward virtue'.

9-10. **Accomplished, . . . Spirit:** 'They have external achievements, but not greatness of nature' (Abbott).

11. **Augustus Cæsar:** cf. Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 79, 'Hee was of an excellent presence and personage, and the same throughout all the degrees of his age most lovely and amiable' (trans. P. Holland [1606], H1-H1<sup>v</sup>. See 'Character of Augustus Caesar', vi. 347 (339).

11-12. **Titus Vespasianus:** emperor AD 69-79, he brought stability and 'prosperity to the empire after the chaos of Nero's reign. Cf. Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*, 2:

At the very first, even in his child-hood, there shone forth in him, the gifts both of body and minde: and the same more and more still by degrees as hee grew in yeeres: A goodly presence and countenance, wherein was seated no lesse majestie than favour and beauty: a speciall cleane strength, albeit his stature was not tall: but his belly bare out somewhat with the most. (trans. Holland [1606], Z1<sup>v</sup>)

12. **Philip le Belle:** Philip IV, King of France (1285-1314). Jean de Serres, *A Generall Historie of France*, trans. Grimstone (1611), includes a chapter on 'Philip the fourth, called the Faire', but does not comment on his beauty.

**Edward the Fourth:** King of England (1461-83). Cf. Holinshed, *Third volume of Chronicles* (1587), 3V6, 'He was a goodlie personage, and princelie to behold, . . . of visage lovelie, of bodie mightie, strong and cleane made: howbeit, in his latter daies with over liberall diet somewhat corpulent and boorelie, and nathelasse not uncomelie'.

13. **Alcibiades of Athens:** Athenian general and statesman (c.450-404 BC). Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alcibiades', S4:

Now for *Alcibiades* beawtie, . . . he was wonderfull fayer, being a child, a boye, and a man, and that at all times, which made him marvelous amiable, and beloved of every man. For where *Euripides* sayeth, that of all the fayer times of the yere, the Autumne or latter season is the fayrest: [quoted in lines 33-4 below] that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proved true in *Alcibiades*, though in fewe other: for he was passing fayer even to his latter time, and of good temperature of bodie.

**Ismael the Sophy of Persia:** Shah Ismael (1500-24), founder of the Safavid dynasty (see LV. 33 n.). Cf. *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 3rd edn. (1617), 'Ismael was of faire countenance, of reasonable stature, thicke and large in the shoulders, shaven al but the mustaches; left-handed, stronger then any of his Nobles, but given to Sodomie' (2P1), and 'his

bloudie and warre-like spirit dwelt in a lovely and amiable body, adorned with all the Ensignes of beautie' (2P1<sup>v</sup>).

19-20. no . . . Strangenesse in the Proportion: cf. Cicero, *De inventione*, II. i. 3, 'in no single case has Nature made anything perfect and finished in every part. Therefore, as if she would have no bounty to lavish on the others if she gave everything to one, she bestows some advantage on one and some on another, but always joins with it some defect' (Loeb).

21. Apelles: Cicero, *ibid.* II. i. 1-3, tells the story not of Apelles, but of Zeuxis, who painted a composite portrait of Venus for the temple, based upon the best features of the five most beautiful maidens of the city. So Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXV. xxxvi. 2 (Wright). Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey . . . 1610* (1615), I3<sup>v</sup>, in an account of his visit to the temple, names Apelles.

Albert Durer: Albrecht Durer (1471-1528), German painter and engraver. His *De Symmetria Partium in Rectis Humanorum Corporum* (Nuremberg, 1532) contains elaborate diagrams showing the proportions of parts of the body to one another and to the whole. Wright compares Donne's satirical portrait of the courtier in 'Satire IV', lines 204-6:

And then by *Durers* rules survey the state  
Of his each limbe, and with strings the odds tries  
Of his neck to his legge, and wast to thighes.

(*Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*,  
ed. W. Milgate [Oxford, 1967])

26-7. kinde of Felicity, . . . Rule: McMahon, 'Francis Bacon's Essay *Of Beauty*', p. 751, compares Sir William Sanderson, *Graphice, or the Use of the Pen and Pensil* (1658), pp. 46-7, 'Indeed a *Painter* may make a better personage than ever was seen since the first Creation; which he does by a kind of *felicity*, not by *Rule*; as a Musitian doth his French Aires, not by a true method of *setting*'.

33-4. Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher: 'The autumn of a beautiful person is beautiful.' Recorded in *Promus*, fo. 90; cf. *Apoph.* vii. 145, 'Euripides would say of persons that were beautiful, and yet in some years, *In fair bodies not only the spring is pleasant, but also the autumn*', and Plutarch, quoted above, line 13. Cf. Donne's 'The Autumnall'.

34-5. no Youth . . . but by Pardon: a difficult passage; the sense seems to be: youth lacks a principal element of beauty, gracefulness ('decent Motion', line 32), and hence may be deemed beautiful only by making the allowance that youth itself is a kind of beauty.

39-40. Vertues shine, and Vices blush: cf. *Ant. R.* 2, loc. cit., lemma quoted, and 'As a fair garment on a deformed body, such is beauty in a bad man'. McMahon compares La Primaudaye, *The Second Part of the French Academie* (1580; trans. 1594), S4<sup>v</sup>, 'For as beautie causeth vertue to appeare more faire, when it is joyned therewith, so contrariwise, it maketh vice more ugly and loathsome to looke upon'.

## XLIII. 'Of Deformity' (pp. 133-4)

Chamberlain (17 December 1612) suggested that Bacon's reflections were pointed: 'Sir Fraunces Bacon hath set out new essayes, where in a chapter of deformitie the world takes notice that he paints out his late litle cousin to the life' (*Letters*, i. 397). The 'litle cousin', Robert Cecil (1563-1612), despite being only five foot two and hunch-backed owing to a fall as an infant (see P. M. Handover, *The Second Cecil* [1959], pp. 5, 32), amassed great wealth and power as Secretary and Lord Treasurer to King James. His death at the age of forty-nine on 24 May prompted scathing attacks upon him (see Chamberlain, i. 362), including such anonymous libels as the following:

Backed like a lute-case,  
Bellied like a drum,  
Like Jack Anapes on horseback  
Sits little Robin Thumbe.

(quoted by C. D. Bowen, *The Lion and the Throne* [Boston, 1956], 233), and

Here lyes little Crookbacke  
Who justly was reckon'd  
Richard the 3rd and Judas the second,  
In life they agreed,  
But in death they did alter  
Great pittty the pox prevented the halter.

(Folger MS 451.1, in Akrigg, p. 110)

Bacon's correspondence demonstrates that he sought to ingratiate himself with Cecil and gain his support (e.g. viii. 237, 295-6; ix. 162; x. 253-4; xi. 12-13, 246), but with limited success (see x. 79-81, 277), and that he laid his failure to advance in part to Cecil (see the complaint at his failure to obtain the solicitorship in 1606, x. 296-7); within days of his cousin's death he wrote a strongly worded letter to the King (31 May 1612) criticizing his tenure (xi. 279-80).

**5-6. void of Naturall Affection:** Rom. 1: 31; 2 Tim. 3 (in a list of vices unrelated to deformity).

**6. Revenge of Nature:** *Ant. R.* 2, iv. 473 (i. 689).

**15-18. Whosoever . . . Scorene:** *Ant. R.* 2, *ibid.*, 'Deformed persons seek to rescue themselves from scorn—by malice'; cf. lines 36-8.

**28. upon the matter:** i.e. taken as a whole.

**31. Great Trust in Eunuchs:** cf. IX. 44, 51 n.

**39. Agesilaus:** Spartan king (444-360 BC). Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 314<sup>v</sup>:

And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasaunt wit, he used the matter so pleasauntly and patiently, that he would merily mocke him selfe: which maner of mery behavior did greatly hide the blame

of the bleamish. Yea further, his life and corage was the more commendable in him, for that men sawe that notwithstanding his lamenes, he refused no paines nor labor.

**40. Zanger:** son of the Ottoman ruler, Soliman the Magnificent. Called 'Tzihanger the crooked' and 'Crouchbacke' in Knolles, he expressed horror at the murder of his brother Mustapha by Soliman and Roxolana (see XIX. 87-90), and took his own life rejecting proffered riches: 'I will therefore my selfe provide that thou, nor none for thee shall ever hereafter in such sort shamefully triumph over a poore crooked wretch' (3T4).

**Aesope:** Renaissance editions portrayed him as not only a slave but, dyfformed and evylle shapen/ For he had a grete hede/ large vysage/ longe Jowes/ sharp eye/ a short necke/ corbe backed [hunch-backed]/ grete bely/ grete legges/ and large feet/ And yet that which was werse he was dombe and coude not speke/ but not withstondyng al this he had a grete wytte and was gretely Ingenyous/ subtyll in cavyllacions/ And Joyouse in wordes.

(*Caxton's Aesop* [1484], ed. R. T. Lenaghan [Cambridge, Mass., 1967], 27)

(A woodblock portrait depicts these deformities.)

**40-1. Gasca President of Peru:** Pedro de la Gasca (c.1493-1567), Spanish priest and lawyer sent by Charles V to Peru with wide powers as president, suppressed the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro and restored Spanish control in 1548. Cf. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, Part II (Cordoba, 1616-17), V. ii:

he was very small and oddly built, being as large as a tall man from the waist down and barely a third of a yard from the waist to the shoulder. On horseback he looked even smaller than he was, for he was all legs. His face was very ugly. But what nature had denied him in physical gifts, she had doubled in his mind and spirit.

(trans. H. V. Livermore [Austin and London, 1966], 1086).

A copy of the *Comentarios reales*, Part I (Lisbon, 1619), bound with Bacon's boar crest on the covers, is in the Bodleian Library [V2 Art. Seld.].

**41. Socrates:** Reynolds compares Montaigne, 3G5-3G5<sup>v</sup>, '*Socrates* hath bene a perfect patterne in al great qualities. I am vexed, that ever he met with so unhansome and crabbed a body, as they say he had, and so disonant from the beautie of his mind'.

#### XLV. 'Of Building' (pp. 135-8)

Bacon's emphasis from the opening sentence is practical—'let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie'—so that the practical implications of specific features (unpaved courtyards, open staircases, many windows)



are considered even as larger questions of layout and aesthetic are raised.

As with his remarks on gardens in the next essay, Bacon's account is essentially a conservative document describing a great country house built upon the old-fashioned courtyard plan, like Gorhambury (1563-68) or Theobalds (1564-85), rather than upon the H, half-H, or compact plans that were becoming the dominant style of the Stuart period. (See J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain (1530-1830)* [*Pelican History of Art*; 5th edn., 1970], and E. Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* [*Oxford History of English Art*; Oxford, 1962].)

The house itself, with its room specifically designated for princely entertainment and its suite of rooms to serve as infirmary, is conceived to provide for the 'progresses' of the monarch and his retinue. It is, indeed, 'a Princely Pallace' (line 43).

Substantive readings are included below from 38 (*Latin*), which adds to 25 a number of significant details almost certainly sanctioned by Bacon.

1. **Of Building**: 38 (*Latin*) reads 'De Ædificiis', 'Of Buildings'.

4. **Use . . . before Uniformitie**: balance and symmetry were becoming increasingly important in the exterior design of the house. Bacon observes such uniformity below in the design of the front of the building (line 53) and in the balance of the answering bay windows in the sides of the first courtyard (lines 104-5), but he disregards it when he places a row of cupolas (to light the galleries, lines 92-3) on only one side of the courtyard. His stricture here clearly asserts the primacy of function over mere aesthetic—unless both are possible.

5-6. **Goodly Fabrickes . . . Beautie only**: J. Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* (1963), 52, suggests Wollaton (1580-88), the extravagant castle designed by Smythson for the coal magnate Sir Francis Willoughby. (See also M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era* [1966], 77-88, who remarks, p. 81, upon its 'monstrous flamboyance'.)

6. **Enchanted . . . Poets**: cf. Tilley C126, 'To build Castles in the air'.

7-8. **a faire House, upon an ill Seat**: Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), A3<sup>v</sup>, cautions 'in the seating of our selves (which is a kind of Marriage to a Place) Builders should bee as circumspect as Wooers' and details general criteria similar to those discussed specifically below (lines 8-30).

11. **Environed**: 38 (*Latin*) reads 'cincto undique, more Theatri', 'girded on all sides in the manner of a theatre'.

16. **Ill Wayes**: 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Viarum et Adituum Incommoditas', 'inconvenience of roads and approaches'.

17. **Momus, Ill Neighbours**: god of ridicule. Wright notes Fable 272 in Renaissance editions of Aesop, in which Momus derides Athena's house for lacking wheels on which to flee unpleasant neighbours. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, A3, inserts what he calls a 'private Caution' regarding neighbours, advising not to build 'too neere a great Neighbour; which were in truth to bee as unfortunately

seated on the earth, as *Mercurie* is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in *combustion*, or *obscuritie* under brighter beames then his owne'.

**18. Want of Water:** Sir Nicholas Bacon's selection of a site for Gorhambury (built 1563-68) forced him to pump water through a system of lead pipes from the River Ver, nearly a mile and a quarter away, and to supplement this system later with another reaching three-quarters of a mile from the ponds in Pre Wood on the estate (J. S. Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses of Gorhambury', *St Albans and Herts. Archit. and Archaeol. Society*, 4 [1934], 50-1). According to William Rawley, every room in the house was served with a pipe of water, but the system was neglected during brother Anthony Bacon's brief ownership (d. 1601), so that 'his Lordship [Francis] . . . could not recover the water without infinite charge' (quoted by Rogers, p. 52). Bacon constructed his summer house, Verulam House (see below, lines 36-8), just south of the ponds, allegedly remarking, 'since he could not carry the water to his house, he would carry his house to the water' (*Apophthegms*, in *Resuscitatio* [1661], vii. 169).

**18-19. Want . . . Shelter:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Sylvarum Defectus, quae et Focum, et Umbram, præbeant', 'defect of woods, which provide both fuel and shade'. Bacon refused to sell off his woods at Gorhambury even when heavy debts pressured, remarking, 'He would not sell his Feathers' (Aubrey, p. 12).

**19. and mixture:** i.e. 'and want of mixture'; 'want' is understood from the previous line (Abbott).

**23. no Commodity:** Spedding's emendation of 'the Commodity' to the lemma restores sense to a passage structured upon contrasts: 'Too neare the Sea, too remote; Having [no] Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the discommodity of their Overflowing'. Or perhaps the word 'not' has been omitted by the compositor (see the stop-press correction at XV. 107); 38 (*Latin*) supports the emendation; 'Commoditas nulla'.

**24-5. Too farre . . . too neare:** Gorhambury was close enough to London to allow a return trip within a day if necessary, whereas the first Bacon estate, Redgrave, was a ninety-mile ride (Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', p. 38). As Summerson notes ('The Building of Theobalds, 1564-1585', *Archaeologia*, 97 [1959], 1-7), it was 'a neighbourhood studded with royal houses', including the Queen's Enfield, Cecil's Theobalds, and, after 1612, Hatfield. Bacon comments on this retreat (5 August 1616), 'I am now gotten into the country to my house, where I have some little liberty to think of that I would think of, and not of that which other men hourly break my head withal, as it was in London' (xiii. 5).

**36-8. Why, . . . Winter:** Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lucullus', 385; retold in *Apoph.* vii. 140. Aubrey applies this anecdote to Bacon's construction of Verulam House, an elaborate summer house built on the estate about a mile from Gorhambury: '. . . for he sayes (in his essay) one should have seates for Summer and Winter as well as Cloathes' (13-14).

Unlike his father's building of Redgrave and Gorhambury, there are no extant records of the building of Verulam House; even the date is uncertain. Bacon was not created Baron Verulam until July 1619, though the house may have been constructed earlier. The 1618 account-book includes a payment of £50 'for Mr. Styles the mason for the works at Verulam' (xiii. 335), which may relate to some part of its construction. The 1608 notebook contains a description (xi. 76-7) for an extensive water garden on the estate with a group of islands and various structures, including a 'howse for freshnes' on the main island, which may be a sketch for the building seen by Aubrey in 1656. Aubrey, pp. 12-14, describes a building of several stories featuring lofty rooms with wainscoting, formal chimney-pieces with seats about them, two bathing rooms, and a carved wooden staircase inside (see below, lines 71-3) and on the outside balconies and a leaded roof, offering views of the ponds and countryside, the exterior doors covered with huge paintings of the gods in umber and gold. In Aubrey's phrase (p. 12), 'the most ingeniously contrived little pile, that ever I sawe'. (Aubrey's crude sketches of an island with banqueting house and of Verulam House are reproduced in Andrew Clark's edition [Oxford, 1898], i. 81; ii, Plate II.) He estimated the cost of construction at £9,000-10,000 and notes that it was sold for £400 c.1665-6 to two carpenters who pulled it down for the materials (p. 13).

**44. a briefe Modell:** the 'Modell' is fuller in some details than others; in some cases Bacon provides specific dimensions and in others fails to indicate accurately the location of a particular room or feature.

**45. the Vatican:** the residence of the Pope built between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and comprising at the time of the essay private and State apartments, chapels (including the Sistine chapel with Michelangelo's ceiling), loggia, and courtyards. In 1620 the Papal Court moved to the Quirinal Palace in central Rome.

**45. Escoriall:** El Escorial, built 1563-83 by Philip II of Spain to commemorate his victory over the French on the feast-day of San Lorenzo. Its massive granite buildings containing monastery, church, royal palace, mausoleum, college, and library were laid out in a gridiron pattern to recall St Lorenzo's martyrdom by fire.

**46-7. scarce a very Faire Roome:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'verè magnificam vix', 'scarcely truly magnificent'. The basis of the assertion is not clear; both palaces were designed and decorated by the leading artists of the day.

**49-50. Side for the Banquet, . . . Hester:** perhaps, Esther 7: 8, 'the place of the banquet of wine', but the architectural division of the essay is not so clear in the biblical passage.

**51. Feasts and Triumphs:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Pompas, Magnificentias, et Celebritates', 'solemn processions, grand occasions, celebrations'. Although shows and quasi-dramatic entertainments had long been a part of any royal visit, Bacon is unusual in taking these performances into account in his design of this wing, even providing a lower room for the participants to ready themselves for performance (lines 59-60). For

Bacon's involvement in producing similar entertainments and masques, see XXXVII.

**52-3. not only Returnes:** i.e. not only wings or sides of the building (*OED*, s.v. II, 4c; earliest citation), but forming with the tower in the centre the front of the palace. The reading in 38 (*Latin*) is 'non ut Latera Domus, sed ut *Frontis* ipsius Partes', 'not as sides of the house, but as parts of the front itself'.

**54. severally Partitioned within:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'longè diversas', 'far different'; cf. line 4, 'let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie'.

**55. a Great and Stately Tower:** extending two storeys above the wings, over ninety-two feet in total height (see lines 67-9, 80); the tower in 38 (*Latin*) is higher owing to revisions in the internal heights (see below).

**58. some Fortie Foot high:** 38 (*Latin*) increases the height to 'quingenta pedes ad minus altam', 'fifty feet at least', and reduces that of the room below from eighteen to fifteen feet.

**59. a Roome:** 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Cameram* item alteram, similis longitudinis et latitudinis', 'another room of like length and width'.

**59-60. at Times of Triumphs:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'ad Festa, Ludos, et eiusmodi Magnificentias; Actores etiam, dum se ornent et parent, commodè recipiat', 'at feasts, plays, and such magnificences; and receive conveniently the actors while they dress and prepare'.

**61. at the first:** the reference is ambiguous. Abbott suggests 'beginning from the tower end' (cf. 'at the further end', lines 63-4); 38 (*Latin*) reads as an adverb, 'praecipue', 'principally'. It is clear that the hall and chapel are to take up the major portion of the wing; what is not clear is whether they are to occupy the ground or first floors. The problem is complicated by the imprecise account of the '*Privie Kitchens*', line 66. If these service rooms are below ground, then the hall and chapel may be off a passage on the ground floor with ceilings extending to the height of the wing; if not, the hall and chapel may occupy the first floor on the same level as the great room on the Banquet side, approached by the great staircase.

**62. with a Partition betweene:** i.e. running length-wise; *om.* 38 (*Latin*).

**64. a Winter, and a Summer Parler:** smaller rooms (although 'Faire') off the hall, for conversation and less formal meals. Summerson (*Architecture*, p. 48) notes that such parlours, designed for hot and cold weather conditions, were common in larger houses of the period.

**64-5. under these Roomes:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'subter hæc omnia, (excepto *Sacello*)', 'under all these (except the chapel)'.

**65. A Faire and Large Cellar:** 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Cellas amplas*', 'great cellars'.

**66. likewise, some Privie Kitchens:** the 'likewise' is imprecise, but 38 (*Latin*) implies they were located in the cellars: 'Quæ Culinis privatis, . . . inserviant', 'which may serve for privie kitchens'. Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', p. 60, remarks (after Aubrey) that the kitchens for Verulam House were below ground, 'an arrangement which was then still new'.



68. **Eightene:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'quindecim', 'fifteen'.

69. **a Goodly Leads upon the Top:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'æquabili', 'even', for 'Goodly'. 'Leads' were flat roofs covered with sheets or strips of lead (*OED*, s.v. 7a) and used for promenades. Cf. Verulam House:

The top of the howse was very well Leaded: from the Leads was a lovely Prospect to the Ponds, which were opposite to the East side of the howse, and were on the other side of the stately Walke of Trees that leades to Gorhambery-howse: and also over that Long Walke of Trees, whose topps afford a most pleasant variegated verdure, resembling the workes in Irish-stitch. (Aubrey, p. 13)

72. **upon a Faire open Newell:** a main staircase, centrally located and built of wood in flights about an open well, was a recent innovation in England. Significant examples were found at the Earl of Dorset's Knole in Kent (c.1605) and Robert Cecil's Hatfield House (1612). (See Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625*, pp. 122-3, Plate 39b; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald* [Harmondsworth, England, 1969], p. 347, Plate 49; Summerson, *Architecture*, pp. 48-9; Plate 30.) Cf. Verulam House (next note). In 38 (*Latin*) there is a more precise description—'apertos esse, & in se revertentes, & per Senos subinde divisos', 'open, turning back on itself, and divided again and again into sixes'—and the height of the first range is increased from sixteen feet (line 79) to twenty feet. For less constantly used areas of the house, Bacon retains the older-style spiral staircases, built upon a newel post, placing them in exterior towers in the four corners of the first courtyard (see below, lines 83-4). (See also W. H. Godfrey, *The English Staircase* [1911], 21.)

73. **with Images of Wood . . . Brasse Colour:** i.e. carved wooden figures as finials to the newel posts. Heraldic beasts with shields are featured as Knole and putti playing musical instruments and throwing balls at Hatfield (Mercer, *English Art 1535-1625*, Plate 39b; Godfrey, *The English Staircase*, Plate 20), and at Verulam House, 'In the middle of this howse was a delicate Staire-case of wood, which was curiously carved, and on the posts of every interstice was some prettie figure, as of a grave Divine with his booke and spectacles, a Mendicant Friar, etc., not one thing twice' (Aubrey, p. 13); 38 (*Latin*) reads 'statuis ligneis, inauratis, vel saltem ænei coloris', 'wooden statues, covered in gold or at least of brass colour'.

74. **very faire:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'spatiosa et lata', 'spacious and wide'.

76-7. **For . . . owne:** *om.* 38 (*Latin*).

81. **Beyond . . . a Faire Court:** at one point Gorhambury had two courtyards (as well as the gallery wing—see below). Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', pp. 43-4, believes that Francis Bacon may have added the second courtyard.

82. **Farre Lower building:** how much lower is not clear, for Bacon does not indicate the number of levels in this first courtyard; the



second courtyard, which is stated (line 111) to be identical in size, is three storeys high (line 127), but this may not be the case here, as the galleries on the Banquet side and, perhaps, the 'Chambers of Presence' on the Household side of the first courtyard might be expected to have higher ceilings resulting in only two storeys.

**83-4. Staire Cases, cast into Turrets:** similar projecting staircase turrets were planned for Robert Cecil's rebuilding of Chelsea House (c.1590) (Godfrey, *The English Staircase*, Figs. 11, 16, 21). Two contemporary plans are described from the Smythson collection by E. F. Seckler, 'English Staircases', *Arch. Review*, 109 (1951), 301-3, who considers the style French. Gorhambury appears to have had an octagonal stair turret and Rogers conjectures that projecting turrets at the ends of the south front seen in extant sketches may have contained stairs as well.

**87. Let the Court not be paved:** perhaps a response to Gorhambury, which had a stone courtyard measuring 80 ft. by 72 ft. (Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', p. 42). In 38 (*Latin*) the reading is 'Lapidibus latis quadrangulis', 'with broad square stones'. (Sir Nicholas used monastic altar-stones for Redgrave's paving.)

**89. Side Alleys, . . . Turf:** i.e. with stone paths around the edges and dividing the centre turf area into quarters. Reynolds, citing contemporary plans, suggests that Bacon may be thinking of the Great Court of his Alma Mater, Trinity College, Cambridge, laid out by Thomas Nevile, 1593-1615.

**90-1. Row of Return:** 38 (*Latin*) clarifies this: 'Latus universum Aerae', 'the entire side of the courtyard'.

**91. Stately Galleries:** these long, narrow chambers had become a prominent feature of the great house, providing a place in bad weather for walking and meditation, for social intercourse and conversation, and for such activities as music and dance. Here the galleries serve the special needs of the Banquet side; 'Privie Galleries' are also provided in the next quadrangle (line 122).

Sir Nicholas Bacon, twitted in 1572 by Queen Elizabeth over the small size of Gorhambury ('Madam, my house is well, but it is you that have made me too great for my house', *Apoph.* vii. 144), constructed, in time for her return visit in 1577, a wing extending west of the original quadrangle containing a gallery (measuring 120 ft. by 18 ft.) built over a loggia. The gallery was entered on the eastern end through an ante-room having two entrances (one for general use and one for the Queen—the latter sealed after her visit); the long south façade faced the garden and contained, as the essay specifies, large windows of coloured glass (see lines 93-4 n.); the north, without windows, featured a large fireplace, and the west end contained a private chamber, also with a window of coloured glass. (See Bacon's 1621 will, xiv. 541, for some of the furnishings of this gallery.) A striking feature of the Gorhambury gallery was its humanistic decoration: above the wainscotting on all four sides of the room and above the portals were painted Latin *sententiae* (chiefly from Seneca and Cicero), grouped under

commonplace headings to prompt meditation. (See Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', pp. 47-50; Nichols, *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth*, ii (1828), 55-8; and especially E. McCutcheon, *Sir Nicholas Bacon's Great House Sententiae* [English Literary Renaissance, Supplement 3; 1977].) Aubrey, p. 14, though he erroneously attributes the wing to Francis, provides additional information on the ceiling, glass, and paintings which may date from Bacon's ownership.

**93-4. fine Coloured Windowes . . . workes: 38 (Latin)** is more specific: 'ubi pingantur Columnæ, Imagines omnigenæ, Flores, & similia', 'where are painted columns, images of all sorts, flowers, and the like'. ('Columnæ' may be an error for 'Columbæ', 'doves', a reading consistent with the references to birds by those who have seen the Gorhambury glass.) Aubrey, p. 14, records 'a stately Gallerie, whose Glasse-windowes are all painted: and every pane with severall figures of beast, bird, or flower: perhaps his Lordship might use them as Topiques for Locall memorie'. Portions of these windows have been preserved at the present Gorhambury. See C. Grimston, *History of Gorhambury* (c.1820), sketch facing p. 76; Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', pp. 48-9 and Fig. 8; and McCutcheon, *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, p. 17, who observed among the extant glass a tobacco plant and turkey cock from the New World and records the theory that each of the gallery windows may have represented one of the then known continents.

**95. Chambers . . . Entertainments:** i.e. chambers for ceremonial presence or attendance (*OED*, s.v. 2b) and chambers for less formal gatherings; **38 (Latin)** reads for the latter, 'alias usus ac Decoris ordinarii', 'others of ordinary use and decoration'.

**96-7. a double House:** i.e. two rooms wide.

**97. without Thorow Lights:** through-lights were windows placed on both sides of a room so that light could shine through. Lemma is the earliest citation in *OED*; Bacon uses the term figuratively in 1605 in *AL* iii. 340, 'this great building of the world had never through-lights made in it, till the age of us and our fathers'. In the essay, Bacon would omit windows from the inside wall dividing the courtyard side-rooms from those on the outside of the house. In **38 (Latin)** is added 'sed ex altera tantum parte fenestrata', 'but windowed only on one side'.

**101-2. Faire Houses, so full of Glasse:** Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, p. 81, notes the Elizabethan tendency to create 'a glass-house', examining Smythson's Longleat (1572-80) and Hardwick Hall (1590-7) in detail (pp. 70-2, 129, and Plates). Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625*, p. 74, quotes the contemporary verse 'More glass than wall' of the latter. Holdenby (built 1577) featured 'a great acreage of glass' and a contemporary described Kenilworth in 1575 as 'a day time, on every side, so glittering by glass' (*ibid.*). Mercer notes (*ibid.*, n. 2) that these great areas of glass remained popular with some well into the seventeenth century.

**103. Inbowed Windowes:** i.e. bow or bay windows; **38 (Latin)** reads 'Fenestras prominentes sive arcuatas', 'projecting or bowed windows'. Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, considers the bay window an 'exclusively

English feature' and examines its use as a unifying motif at Longleat (p. 71 and Plates 21-2). The four windows placed to face the courtyard (line 109) are much smaller than the enormous grids on the façade of Longleat.

**104-5. In Cities . . . Street:** a proclamation of 1605 required that all new buildings within one mile of London be of stone or brick and directed magistrates to see that 'the forefront thereof in every respect shall be made of that uniforme order and forme, as shall be prescribed unto them for that Streete' (Larkin and Hughes, No. 51; Summerson, *Architecture*, p. 349 n. 3).

**112-13. Cloistered . . . Arches:** such loggias were stock features of mid-sixteenth-century houses, including Holdenby, Theobalds (bricked up in part by King James in 1607), and Burghley House. The first court at Gorhambury was entered through a cloister, and the gallery wing which was added by Sir Nicholas (see above) was built over a cloister. (See Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses', pp. 44, 47; Aubrey, p. 14.)

**114-15. On the Under Story, . . . Grotta:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Pars autem exterior Solarii inferioris versus *Hortum* quatenus ad duo Latera, convertatur in *Specum* sive *Cavernam*, (*Grottam* Moderni vocant)', 'Moreover, the outer part of the lower storey towards the garden as far as concerns the two sides, let it be turned into cave or cavern (the moderns call it *Grotta*)'. Lemma is the earliest citation in *OED*. The grotto, or artificial cave, often elaborately decorated with shells and stones, was a continental fad introduced during James's reign by De Caus (see R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* [1979], *passim*). Grander examples of the grotto featured complicated water effects and automata. Bacon's appears to be merely a cool shelter without the special effects.

**117. no whit sunke under Ground:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'elegantī Pavimento strata', 'paved with an elegant pavement'.

**118-19. a Fountaine, . . . Statua's:** a characteristic feature of the courtyard house. Cf. the palaces of Hampton Court and Greenwich and the Conduit or Fountain Court at Theobalds; the latter featured a great fountain of black and white marble with pillars and figures of Venus and Cupid (Summerson, 'Building of Theobalds', p. 119).

**122-3. one of them:** 38 (*Latin*) clarifies 'aliquae, tam ex Cameris et Conclavibus, quam ex Porticibus', 'some, not only of the chambers and closets, but also of the galleries'. That is, both sides (line 121) and end (line 121) of this courtyard on the first storey.

**123. Infirmary:** earliest citation in *OED*.

**124. with Chambers:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Portiones singulae ægris destinatae, (ut Moderni loquuntur)', 'individual sections set aside for the sick (as the moderns say)'.

**124-5. Bed-chamber, Anticamera, and Recamera:** 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Ante-Cameram*, *Cameram* ad Cubile, et *Re-Cameram*', 'ante-room, bedroom, and retiring room'.

**126. Upon the Ground Story:** i.e. at the end of the courtyard, facing

the garden (38 (*Latin*) reads 'Latus transversum'). The sides of the under (or ground) storey have been discussed above (lines 112-14).

**127. Upon the Third Story:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'ex omnibus tribus Lateribus', 'on all three sides'.

**129. both . . . Side:** i.e. of the end.

**130. Cabinets:** 'small chambers or rooms' (*OED*, s.v. 3); 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Conclavia, (Cabinettos Moderni vocant)', 'closets (the moderns call them *cabinettos*)'; the earliest entry for a room given over to the display of art is 1676 (*OED*, s.v. 4), but the connotation of a special room for display seems clear, especially with the details added in 38 (*Latin*) below (lines 132-3).

**131-2. Crystalline Glasse:** i.e. clear, as distinguished from the coloured glass in the gallery windows (lines 93-4).

**132-3. all other Elegancie . . . upon:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Sint autem Conclavia illa, Rebus curiosus omnigenis, & spectatu dignis, referta', 'moreover let those closets be furnished with curious things of all sorts and worthy of view'.

**136. fine Avoidances:** 'outlets'; 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Qui per secretos Tubos iterum transeant', 'which go away again through hidden pipes', and the following new feature, 'Interior autem pars, in Solario superiore, versus Aream, formetur in Porticus et Ambulacra, bene murita et obducta, ad usum Convalescentium', 'moreover, let the inner part on the upper storey towards the courtyard be formed into galleries, and walks, well walled and covered, for the use of convalescents'.

**137. Pallace:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Nam de Balneis, et Piscinis, non loquor', 'for I do not speak of the bathing places or fishponds'. These topics are treated in the next essay, lines 140-67.

**138. Greene Court Plaine:** i.e. turfed with grass ('gramine vestita') without cross-paths as in the courtyards.

**139. Second . . . same:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'et juxta Parietem Arboribus, ordine positis, sata Area altera, ejusdem amplitudinis', 'another court of the same size planted with trees next to the wall, placed in rows'.

**142. not to be built:** i.e. not enclosed with buildings; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Ædificio certè aliquo circumdatam nolo', 'certainly not enclosed by any building'.

**143. Tarrasses:** terraces. The court is apparently surrounded by cloisters formed with pillars upon which rest the terraces.

**Leaded:** cf. line 69 n.; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'plumbo, vel Lapide Quadrato', 'with lead or square stones'.

**fairly garnished:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'elegantibus Statuis parvis, ænei Coloris, munitis', 'built with small, elegant statues of brass colour'.

**145. Offices:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Ædificia omnia, quae usibus familiaribus inserviunt', 'all the buildings which serve the household purposes'; usually including kitchens and cellars, pantry, scullery, laundry, as well as stables and barns (*OED*, s.v. 9). Bacon places the kitchen in the main block of his palace (line 66).

**146. Low:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'humiliores, et obtectae', 'low and covered'.



## XLVI. 'Of Gardens' (pp. 139-45)

Bacon's interest in gardens and gardening was enthusiastic and lifelong. Each of his residences had gardens adjoining. Gorhambury, the country house built by his father, had a garden and orchard with an elegant banquetting house (Nichols, *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth* [1828], ii. 59-60). York House, Bacon's birthplace and London home while his father was Lord Keeper, and again in 1620-1 when he was himself Keeper, is pictured in contemporary maps of the Thames area as being set back from the river with gardens or orchards to the east (London County Council, *Survey of London*, xviii. *The Strand* [1937], 51-60 and Plates 1 and 2). Twickenham Park, which Bacon leased from 1594 to c.1606 (when it was sold to Lucy Harrington, Lady Bedford), contained formal gardens whose geometrical layout is preserved in a sketch of 1609 by the architect Robert Smythson, which one scholar believes may represent Bacon's gardening tastes (M. Girouard, *Architectural Hist.* v [1962], 36). Bacon is credited with developing gardens and walks for Gray's Inn, and there are detailed payments in the Society's *Pension Book* for the gardens in 1598-1600 (£20. 6s. 8d.) and 1608-10 (when he was the Inn's treasurer) (over £250), as well as evidence of a summer-house he had constructed in memory of a fellow Grayan, J. Bettenham (*The Pension Book of Gray's Inn . . . 1569-1669*, ed. R. J. Fletcher [1901], i. 490-2). Finally, his Verulam House, built near Gorhambury (see XLV. 36-8 n.), featured an extensive complex of ponds and gardens, fountains and wainscotted summer-houses (Aubrey, p. 15; he visited the ruins in 1656).

A detailed plan of 1608 for a massive water garden at Gorhambury is extant in Bacon's holograph (BL, MS Additional 27278; xi. 76-7), featuring a great island with a house upon it and six smaller islands (each with a guardian nymph in stone), to be reached by boat—perhaps a scheme to surpass cousin Robert Cecil's moated garden at nearby Theobalds.

A fragmentary account-book of 1618 contains additional traces of Bacon's gardening interests: references to plants and seeds received, to wages for weeders, to a garden sundial specially commissioned, to several visits to royal gardens (noted in the gratuities to the gardeners), and a payment for a key to Hampton Court Garden (xiii. 327-36).

Even Bacon's courtly compliments reflect his gardening passion, for the masque he underwrote to commemorate the marriage of Somerset in 1613 was entitled *The Masque of Flowers*, its principal scene a Renaissance garden with quartered knots, mount fountain, arbour, and twelve Garden Gods.

The essay describes a garden which, despite its immense size and explicit 'Royall Ordering' (lines 9-10), is less grandiose and flamboyant than either the new Mannerist gardens with their statues, grottoes, automata, and complex water effects or even Bacon's own practice at Verulam House. (See Strong, p. 179, for a detailed examination.) As



Strong, p. 135, notes, the essay garden in its layout and principal features 'looks backwards' to the gardens of the beginning of the reign and those designed for the Tudors. As the following commentary demonstrates, however, Bacon also responds to current fads and specific gardens. What is fresh in the essay is the aim of combining landscape architecture and horticulture to create a variety of walks and environments for as much of the year as the gardener's art will allow, integrating functional layout of walk and open space, cultivated area, and contrived 'wilderness', covered alley and sloping mount with extensive plantings of native and 'outlandish' stock: a constantly changing infinitely various 'perpetual spring' of flowers and ground cover, ornamental shrubs, and flowering fruit-trees—all directed 'to the true Pleasure of a Garden'.

References to specific plants have been compared with entries in John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall History of Plants* (1597—unless otherwise noted, quoted herein; rev. edn. Thomas Johnson, 1633) and in John Parkinson's *Paradisus Terrestris or A Garden of all Sorts of Flowers* (1629), both, like the essay, 'for the Climate of London'. Also useful is Gerard's *Catalogus arborum* (1596; rev. edn. 1599), a list of all the plants attested to have been growing at those dates in Gerard's own London garden.

In 38 (*Latin*) there are revisions and additions of a substantial nature which suggest Bacon's hand; accordingly, they are included in the commentary.

3. God . . . Garden: Gen. 2: 8.

8. Garden Finely: 38 (*Latin*) reads 'ad Hortorum Elegantiam et Amoenitatem', 'to the elegance and pleasure of gardens'.

10-11. for all the Moneths: both Gerard and Parkinson include comments on 'The Time' in each entry and, for the most part, agree with Bacon's calendar.

15. Eugh: i.e. yew; 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Buxus', 'box'.

Pine-Apple-Trees: i.e. pine-trees; 'Pinus' in 38 (*Latin*). The cones of the pine were called 'pine-apples'.

17. Flagges: 'The blade or long slender leaf of a plant' (*OED*). Cf. the 1608 plan, xi. 76, 'the border to be sett with flagges of all sortes of flower de Lucas and lylies'.

Orange-Trees; Limon-Trees: such warm-weather trees were highly prized, but required extraordinary measures for survival. In 1562 Bacon's uncle, William Cecil, arranged to have lemon-, pomegranate-, and myrtle-trees shipped from Paris to join an orange-tree already at Burghley. The instructions accompanying the shipment urged that they be kept in tubs and removed into the house during harsh weather (Mrs Evelyn Cecil, *A History of Gardening in England*, 3rd edn. [1910], 139). Gerard, who was Cecil's gardener, does not include either the orange- or lemon-tree in the 1596 *Catalogus* of his own London garden. but his 1599 list has 'Malus arantia, the Arange, or Orange'. His *Herbal* two years earlier included a chapter on 'Citron, Limon, Orange . . .' (4N5v-4N7v) without any comment on their cultivation in England.

Parkinson, 3C4<sup>V</sup>, omits the lemon and citron, 'For the Orenge tree hath abiden with some extraordinary looking and tending of it, when as neither of the other would by any meanes be preserved any long time', and details the ways in which the orange-trees have been protected in England, including the method recommended by Bacon (lines 17-18). The Works Accounts of 1611-12 mention 'a house for orange trees' in the new garden designed for Queen Anne at Somerset House (Strong, p. 90).

**Mirtles:** Parkinson, 2N4, who claims three species in his own garden, agrees with Bacon that they will not 'yet abide without extraordinary care, . . . the sharpnesse of our winters'.

**17-18. if they be stooved:** i.e. heated by a stove. The phrase applies to the orange-trees and lemon-trees as well as the myrtles. *OED* cites this as the earliest instance of the term ('to put [plants] in a hothouse'). The reading is one of a number of stop-press corrections in Sheet 2M directed by Bacon himself (see the Textual Introduction, pp. cv-cvi) and may preserve the author's orthography, for double 'o' spellings are prominent in his holograph letters. Bacon uses the uncorrected reading 'stirred' (*OED*, s.v. 3c) in *AL* iii. 324, 'For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not any thing you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth and putting new mould about the roots that must work it.' The context clearly supports the correction, however: such trees will survive the English weather only if removed to a heated area. 38 (*Latin*) has the corrected reading, 'Calidariis conserventur', 'preserved in heated rooms'.

**warme set:** i.e. planted to take fullest advantage of sunlight; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'juxta Parietem et versus Solem satus', 'set near a wall and towards the sun'. Gerard, 2L5<sup>V</sup>, states that sweet marjoram 'perisheth at the first approach of winter', but that 'Pot-Marjerome' stays green all winter 'whereupon our English women have called it, . . . winter Marjerome'. Parkinson agrees that sweet marjoram dies each winter.

**19-20. Mezerion Tree:** Gerard, 4I6<sup>V</sup>, 'the dwarffe Bay tree, which the Dutch men call *Mezereon*, . . . The flowers come foorth before the leaves oftentimes in the moneth of Januarie'; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Arbustum Chamæleæ Germanicæ sive Mezereonis', 'Tree of German Olive or *Mezereon*'.

**21. and the Gray:** neither Gerard nor Parkinson mentions a grey variety among the whites, yellows, and purples. Bacon may be thinking of a flower of mixed colour, white with purple striping, whose appearance would be greyish at a distance.

**Prime-Roses:** Gerard, 2R7, gives the time as April-May, though 'some one or other of them do flower all the winter long'. Bacon comments on the unusual colour of the green primrose in *Sylva*, ii. 504.

**The Early Tulippa:** both Gerard and Parkinson note tulips as imports and distinguish early and late blooming species (line 29).

**22. Hiacynthus Orientalis:** Gerard, G3, 'brought from beyond the seas, some out of one countrey and some out of others, especially from the East countries, whereof they tooke their names *Orientalis*'.

**Chamaeiris:** Gerard, D2<sup>v</sup>, includes two varieties of this name in his chapter on 'variable Flower de-luce' or Iris. Parkinson defines it as one of the two principal divisions of flower de luce, viz. the lesser or dwarf, '*Iris minor*, or rather *Chamaeiris*'. Bacon's blooming date is a month or two earlier than the herbalists'.

**Frettellaria:** Gerard, *Catalogus*, 'Frittillaria: Checkerd Daffodill'; in the *Herbal*, H6, he derives the Latin name from 'the table or board upon which men plaie at chesse, which square checkers the flowers doth very much resemble', listing them by the English common name, 'Turkie or Ginnie-hen flower'. Parkinson, D2<sup>v</sup>, discusses twelve varieties, but classes 'frittillaria' with lilies. Bacon's time is early.

**24-5. Almond-Tree . . . Peach-Tree in Blossome:** cf. Gerard, 4M2<sup>v</sup>, 'The Almond flowreth betimes with the Peach', but in April, not March.

**25-6. Cornelian-Tree:** the male cornel-tree. Gerard, 4N7<sup>v</sup>, comments 'there be sundrie trees of them growing in the gardens of such as love rare and dainty plants, whereof I have a tree or two in my garden'.

**26. Sweet-Briar:** 'the Eglantine' (Gerard, 4A6<sup>v</sup>, who has them blooming 'with the other Roses' beginning at end of May). Listed again at lines 67-8.

**27. The Wall-flower:** Gerard, 2A1<sup>v</sup>, describes 'Wall flowers, or yellow stocke Gilloflowers' as 'small, yellow, very sweete of smell', for which quality Bacon places them below the lower chamber windows (lines 68-9).

**28. Flower-De-lices:** i.e. irises. Bacon (*pace* Scott) does not consider them as varieties of lily (as Shakespeare does in *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 126-7). (See above, line 17 n.)

**30. French Honny-Suckle:** Gerard, 3A4, and Parkinson, 2L4, distinguish 'common' honeysuckle (or 'woodbinde'), blooming in May (see below, lines 34-5) from a 'double' variety blooming, as in the essay, in April, which they call 'Italian', not French. Parkinson gives the native habitat of the latter as 'Italie, Spaine, and Provence of France', which may explain Bacon's name for them; 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Sabaudicum*', 'of Savoy'.

**31. Plum-Trees:** 38 (*Latin*) '*Prunus diversi generis*', 'plums of various kinds'.

**32. White-Thorne in Leafe:** hawthorn. Gerard, 4E3, notes that leaves 'of a glistering greene colour' come out before the blossoms.

**The Lelacke Tree:** a name for the 'Blew Pipe Tree' (*Syringa caerulea*), according to Gerard, 4I5<sup>v</sup>, and Parkinson, 2M1<sup>v</sup>. The 1650 survey of Nonsuch Palace gardens singles out as if unusual 'six trees called Lelack trees which trees beare noe fruit but onely a very pleasant flower' (J. Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch* [London, 1962], 115), no doubt the rarer purple variety imported from Persia c.1621 by John Tradescant. But Bacon probably intends the blue-pipe.

**35. Buglosse:** Parkinson, X5, observes that though a herb of the kitchen garden, its blue flowers make it a favourite in 'Gardens of pleasure' and 'among the flowers of womens needle-worke'.

**35-6. French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus:** Gerard, 2Q1-2Q2, lists

five species of *Flos Africanus*, calling those with single flowers 'French' and those with multiple flowers 'African'; 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Flos Africanus, simplex et multiplex*', and omits 'The French Mary-gold'.

**36. Ribes:** i.e. currants. Gerard does not list them in the *Herbal*, but his *Catalogus* indicates that he grew red, white, and black varieties; Parkinson, 3A3<sup>v</sup>.

**Figges in Fruit:** Gerard, 4Q6<sup>v</sup>, 'In England . . . oftentimes the fruit commeth foorth before the leaves appeere'; Parkinson, 3B2, notes that they require special care.

**37-8. Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower:** a variety of orchis; Parkinson, Q6<sup>v</sup>.

**38. Herba Muscaria:** 'Muscari, or Muskéd grape flower', a kind of hyacinth (Gerard, G5).

**Lilium Convallium:** 'Lilly in the valley, or May Lillie' (Gerard, X6).

**39. Apple-tree in Blossome:** 38 (*Latin*) adds '*Flos Cyaneus*', 'the Blue Bottle, or Corn-flower' (Gerard, 2O8).

**41. Ginnittings:** i.e. jenneting apples; as noted, an early summer variety. *OED* compares *pomme de Saint-Jean*, 'S. John's apple, a kind of soone-ripe Sweeting' (Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* [1611]). Parkinson, 3C6<sup>v</sup>, pronounces the 'Geneting apple' 'a very pleasant and good apple'.

**Quadlins:** i.e. codlins, coddling apples. Parkinson, 3C6<sup>v</sup>, singles out the Kentish codlin; 'a faire great greenish apple'; 38 (*Latin*) combines the two varieties of apple under 'Poma'.

**43. Berberies:** 25(c); Barbaries 25(u). Reynolds emends to 'barberries', citing *Herbal*, 4E2<sup>v</sup>, but the spelling has been changed here by Bacon himself by means of stop-press correction. Gerard lists two varieties of 'berberies' in his *Catalogus*. See 'Beareberries', below, line 186).

**Muske-Melons:** a recent addition to English gardens. Gerard, 3C2<sup>v</sup>, has seen them 'at the Queenes house at Saint James' and Lord Sussex's house; Parkinson, 2X5, finds them 'formerly only eaten by great personages, . . . noursed up by the Kings or Noblemens Gardiners onely, to serve for their Masters delight', now (i.e. 1629) more common, but unusual enough for him to include instructions on how to eat the fruit. Cf. Bacon's account-book of 1618, 'To the Queen's herbwoman that brought your Lp. Musk-millians by your Lp. order. 5s.' (xiii. 332).

**Monks Hoods, of all colours:** 38 (*Latin*) reads '*omnigeni Coloris Delphinium, sive Consolida Regalis*'; listed under 'Larkes heele' in Gerard, 3M6<sup>v</sup>, and Parkinson, Z6<sup>v</sup>.

**45. Melo-Cotones:** the melocoton peach ('Melon Peach' in *Catalogus*) is distinguished by Parkinson, 3C2<sup>v</sup>, as a 'yellow faire Peach, but differing from the former yellow both in forme and taste, [and] ripe before them'. The uncorrected reading 'Mal-Catounes' could be a misreading of 'Malum Cotoneum', one of the Latin names of the quince, except that Bacon immediately goes on to mention 'Quinces'. The lemma, directed by Bacon, makes superior sense by distinguishing a species of peach rather than merely repeating the genus quince.



**Cornelians:** the fruit of the cornel-tree (line 25); earliest citation in *OED*. Gerard, 4N8, and Parkinson, 3B4, agree that their berries taste 'austere', but Gerard describes them as red, Parkinson as yellowish red.

**46. Wardens:** Parkinson, 3D3, includes the 'Warden or Luke Wards peare' of two sorts, white and red, great and small; 38 (*Latin*) has 'Pyra Hyemalia', 'winter pears'.

**47. Services:** small, long brown berries of the service-tree (or sorb); the fruit is edible only when over-ripe (Gerard, 4O2).

**Medlars:** fruits of the medlar tree resemble small brown apples; like services, they may be eaten when decayed to pulp.

**Bullises:** 25(c); Bullies 25(u); i.e. 'bullaces', 'wild black plums' (Gerard, 4P7, 'bullesse'). Both forms are acceptable seventeenth-century spellings, but the stop-press correction to the plural makes it consistent with others in the list.

**47-8. Roses . . . come late:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Rosæ Seræ', 'late roses'.

**48. Hollyokes:** i.e. hollyhocks; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Malvae arborescentes flore Roseo', perhaps Gerard's 'Malva rosea simplex peregrina' (ii. 336).

**48-50. These Particulars . . . affords:** 25(c); see the uncorrected version in the Textual Notes. Bacon's stop-press correction (see the Textual Introduction, p. cv) replaces a rhetorical flourish with a more practical focus. He, like Parkinson and Gerard, writes for those who would garden in London and its environs. William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (1618), A3<sup>v</sup>, announces a northern bias.

**50. Ver Perpetuum:** 'Perpetual spring.' Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 149, 'hic ver adsidium atque alienis mensibus aestas', 'Here is eternal spring, and summer in months not her own' (Singer).

**51-2. farre Sweeter in the Aire:** cf. the list in *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 298 (ii. 190-1) 'of plants growing and not gathered, and taken in the open air'.

**55. Red:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Rubeae, dum crescunt', 'red while they are growing'.

**55-6. fast Flowers . . . Smelles:** in *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, loc. cit., Bacon singles out the odour of musk roses (as he does below, lines 63-4) 'for other roses when growing give out little smell'.

**62. twice a Yeare:** Gerard, 2X7, states the time for all violets as 'at the furthest in Aprill', but Parkinson, 2A4, concurs with the essay 'if the yeare be temperate and milde'.

**63. about Bartholomew-tide:** August 24; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'sub finem Augusti', 'at the end of August'.

**63-4. Next to that . . . Muske-Rose:** in the 1608 plan, Bacon includes 'An Iland w<sup>th</sup> an arbor of Musk roses sett all w<sup>th</sup> double violett for sent in Autumn, some gilovers [? gillyflowers] w<sup>ch</sup> likewise dispers sent' (xi. 77).

**64. Strawberry Leaves dying:** cf. *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, v. 275 (ii. 168) for a 'scientific' account of the effect on the spirits.

**which [yeeld]:** Wright (*after Spedding conj.*); which 25; Spedding's conjecture that a verb has been omitted is supported by the thought



and structure of the passage (lines 58-65) and by the reading of 38 (*Latin*), 'quæ . . . emittunt', 'which . . . put forth'.

**65-6. Flower of the Vines; . . . a little dust:** Parkinson, 3A6, describes 'clusters of small greenish yellow bloomes or flowers' on grape-vines. In the list referred to in lines 51-2 n., Bacon mentions 'the dust or flowers of vines'; 'dust' may refer to particles of pollen, though the earliest reference in *OED* is late-eighteenth-century.

**66. Bent:** a rush-like grass (*OED*). Reynolds compares Gerard, A4<sup>v</sup>, who calls 'Pannicke grass' 'a Bent or Feather-top grasse'.

**69-70. Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers:** Pinks 25(u); 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Cariophyllatae', 'gilly-flowers'.

**70. specially . . . Clove Gilly-flower:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'tam minores, quam majores', 'both lesser and greater'.

**72. off:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Tum Flores Lavendulae', 'then lavender flowers'.

**72-3. Beane Flowers I speake not:** included in the list referred to in lines 51-2 n.

**74-5. not . . . rest:** not in 38 (*Latin*).

**76. Burnet:** ground cover with small, purplish brown flowers. Parkinson, 2S2, who includes it in his section on kitchen gardens for its use in salads and as a garnish for claret wine, remarks upon its 'fine quicke sent, almost like Baulme'; Gerard, 3K5, terms the scent 'something like a Melon, or Cucumber'.

**Wilde-Time:** Parkinson, 2P5<sup>v</sup>, distinguishes three varieties.

**Water-Mints:** Gerard, 2M6<sup>v</sup>, notes that the smell 'rejoiceth the hart of man' so that it is strewn about 'in chambers and places of recreation, pleasure, and repose, and where feasts and banquets are made'.

**77-8. the Pleasure, . . . tread:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'ut Odorem eorum calcando exprimas', 'that you may press out their scent by walking upon them'.

**81. Thirty Acres of Ground:** the essay garden is indeed 'Prince-like'. Lord Burghley's Great Garden at Theobalds (planted 1575-85), twice the size of Henry VIII's Hampton Court garden and pronounced 'enormous' for its time by Strong (p. 57), covered just over seven acres, while all of the orchards and gardens of Nonsuch Palace have been estimated at sixteen acres (Dent, *In Search of Nonsuch*, p. 112). Robert Cecil's Hatfield House gardens (1607-12) must have been very large indeed to accommodate terracing, ponds, and islands as well as thousands of plantings (including over 500 fruit-trees), but the overall dimensions have not been calculated by either Strong or L. Stone ('The Building of Hatfield House', *Arch. Journal*, 100 [1955], 124-7). Bacon's proposed water garden of 1608, with its seven islands, was on the grand scale, though, again, its dimensions are not known to us. Aubrey, p. 15, estimates that the ruined fishponds at Verulam House covered four acres, but provides no other dimensions.

**82-3. Heath or Desart:** i.e. an area of the garden made to look uncultivated and wild (see lines 168-70). The contrast dates from classical times; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* v. 6. 34, 'in opere urbanissimo subita velut inlati

ruris imitatio', 'then suddenly in the midst of this ornamental scene is what looks like a piece of rural country planted there' (Loeb, trans. B. Radice [Cambridge, Mass., 1969]). 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Fruticetum' for 'Heath', which Cooper (*Thesaurus* [1584]) defines as 'a place where greate hearbs grow with bigge stalkes'.

95. **Covert Alley**: covered walks were formed either by intertwining the boughs of trees bordering the walk to form a canopy (cf. 'thick-pleach'd alley' in *Much Ado about Nothing*, I. ii. 9-10) or, as here, with trellices and vines.

98. **Knots, . . . Earths**: the planting of herbs in intricate geometric designs or abstract patterns (even coats of arms) had been a favourite of English gardeners for nearly one hundred years, and contemporary gardening books such as Thomas Hill, *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (1577), Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman* (1613), William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (1618), and Parkinson (1629) included woodblock designs for knots. Markham suggests that the fashion is beginning to wane in 1613: '[the knot] which is most ancient and at this day of most use amongst the vulgar though least respected with great ones, who for the most part are wholly given over to novelties' (quoted by Strong, p. 40). Markham distinguished two kinds of knot, 'open' and 'closed'. Bacon may be referring to 'open' knots, those in which the spaces between the lines of the design traced by the plants were filled with coloured earth—or, perhaps, since there is no mention in the essay of the plant component of the knot, to designs made up entirely of coloured sands and earths. (Thomas Platter in 1599 notes the 'chess-board' effect created at Hampton Court through the alternation of squares of red brick dust, white sand, and green lawn, though this display was not located below the window, but at the entrance to the garden. See C. Williams [trans.], *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599* [1937], 200.) 'Closed' knots, those in which the spaces are filled with flowers, are featured prominently in the garden set constructed for *The Masque of Flowers* (*A Book of Masques*, p. 167). Parkinson not only provides patterns for knots as late as 1629, but includes a chapter evaluating the various herbs to be used.

101-2. **best to be Square**: the traditional shape. See Parkinson's detailed evaluation, A2.

127-8. **Images Cut out in Juniper**: the classical art of topiary, or the training and clipping of shrubs into ornamental and fantastic shapes (e.g. Pliny, *Epist.* v. 6. 35), was revived with enthusiasm in the Renaissance. Platter describes a most elaborate group at Hampton Court Palace fashioned out of evergreen quickset and rosemary into 'all manner of shapes, men and women, half men and half horse, sirens, serving maids with baskets, French lilies and delicate crenallations all round' (200, quoted by Strong) and another group at Nonsuch of dogs and hares which may be topiary work (197). The garden at Twickenham Park (a property leased by Bacon from 1594 to c.1606) contained a hedge of 'trees cut into Beastes' in 1609 when the property belonged

to Lady Bedford (Strong, p. 120). See Parkinson's remarks, 2P1, on the use of privet for topiary and Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (1618), II<sup>v</sup>, 'Your Gardiner can frame your lesser wood to the shape of men armed in the field, ready to give battle: or swift running Greyhounds: or of well sented and true running Hounds, to chase the Deere, or hunt the Hare. This kinde of hunting shall not waste your corne, nor much your coyne'. Bacon disparages topiary work more pointedly in *Sylva* ii. 502, 'It is an ordinary curiosity to form trees and shrubs (as rosemary, juniper, and the like,) into sundry shapes; which is done by moulding them within, and cutting them without. But they are but lame things, being too small to keep figure'. He surely knew the Hampton Court collection well, for his expenses in 1618 include payment for a key to the garden there (xiii. 336) and a gratuity for its gardener (332).

129. **Round, like Welts:** i.e. like a raised border or binding on a garment.

129-30. **with some Pretty Pyramides:** also of shaped hedge; 38 (*Latin*) distinguishes these low pyramids ('parvulis'; 'very little, pretie' [Cooper, *Thesaurus*]) from high ones added to the 'Faire Columns' of the next line. Marble obelisks and columns (often with heraldic symbols) were placed in the gardens at Hampton Court and Nonsuch, and wooden ones at Theobalds. The phrase (line 131), and the addition in 38 (*Latin*) of 'Sepibus vestitas', 'covered with hedges', indicate that Bacon is thinking of training hedges upon these wooden shapes. Two gilt pyramids, garnished with jewels, are featured in the garden in *The Masque of Flowers*.

134. **a Faire Mount:** a raised mound either in the centre of the garden or against the wall was a popular feature in Tudor-Stuart gardens, providing as it did a unique perspective on the patterns of the garden below and a dramatic view of the countryside beyond the walls. Cf. the gardens at Hampton Court, those at Wadham College and New College, Oxford (as depicted in the engravings of David Loggan in the 1670s: Strong, p. 116), and Theobalds, whose mount was called 'Venusburg' after the statue at its summit. See also Jonson, 'To Penshurst', lines 10-11, *Works*, viii. 93. *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, i. 491, 492, shows payments in 1608-9 under Bacon's account as Treasurer of the Society 'towards the makeinge of the mount' with additional payments for constructing a summer-house ornamented with a gilded carving of the Inn's griffin; dedicated in 1609 to the memory of Jeremy Bettenham by Bacon (see tribute, x. 298). There is also a mount with an arbour for twelve garden gods in *Masque of Flowers*.

135-6. **three Ascents, and Alleys, . . . Circles:** a difficult passage to visualize. The phrase 'Perfect Circles' indicates that Bacon is calling for more than spiralling paths to the top. Reynolds suggests that the wide alleys, linked by the ascents, circle the mount at various levels; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'tribus Ascensus Ordinibus, & tribus Ambulacris', 'with three orders of ascents and three alleys'.

136-7. **without . . . Imbosments:** i.e. without ramparts or projections;

hence, affording a clear prospect of the garden below. The ascents on the mount at Hampton Court, in contrast, were flanked by heraldic stone animals.

**138. some fine Banquetting House:** such structures designed to provide an elegant setting for a light meal or after-dinner course of sweetmeats, fruits, and wine (*OED*, s.v. 'banquet', 3), ranged in style from the simple pavilion to the multi-storey building with balconies for viewing the garden. Markham, *The Second Part of the English Husbandman*, F2, calls for 'some curious and arteficiall banquetting house' even for the country gentleman. See the detailed reconstruction and plan for the banqueting house at Nonsuch, a building of two storeys plus cellars measuring 44 ft. by 38 ft. (Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch*, pp. 124-30). Nichols, *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth*, ii. 59-60, mentions a banqueting house in the orchard at Gorhambury constructed for Sir Nicholas Bacon; its walls were adorned with verses extolling the Liberal Arts, with portraits of their principal classical and Renaissance exponents. Aubrey, p. 15, describes the ruins in 1656 of Bacon's own banqueting house at Gorhambury, placed on an island in the middle of one of the ponds, 'a curious banquetting-house of Roman architecture, paved with black and white marble; covered with Cornish slatt, and neatly wainscotted'.

**139. Chimneys neatly cast:** i.e. ornamented fireplaces; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Caminis venuste ordinatis', 'fireplaces beautifully fashioned'. Cf. the fragment of a carved chimney-stone with Tudor rose and cherub from the Nonsuch banqueting house (Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch*, p. 130).

**without too much Glasse:** again Bacon may be responding to specific gardens; for example, there were windows 'quite round the whole house' at Nonsuch (Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch*, pp. 129-30) and the three-storeyed Great Round Arbour atop the mount at Hampton Court was 'almost all of glass' (Strong, p. 28).

**140. Fountaines, . . . Refreshment:** cf. Parkinson's remarks, A3, on their role in irrigation.

**141. Pooles marre all:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Stagna, et Piscinae', 'pools and fishponds'. Aubrey, p. 15, estimated that the ponds at Verulam House covered four acres, so that the essay's negative judgement may reflect experience.

**143. Spouteth Water:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'cum Crateribus suis', 'with its basins'.

**146. Ornaments . . . Marble:** Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* (Oxford, 1962), 256, believes that most of the recorded garden statues were placed upon fountains. Two new fountains were carved for the Privy Garden at Hampton Court in 1611 (*ibid.*). Baron Lumley added c.1579 to other fountains of varied designs at Nonsuch a spouting naked Diana in white marble.

**155-6. Bottome . . . Images:** cf. Aubrey's description, p. 15, of the Gorhambury fish-ponds:



The figures of the Ponds were thus: they were pitched at the bottomes with pebbles of severall colours, which were work't in to severall figures, as of Fishes, etc., which in his Lordship's time were plainly to be seen through the clear water, now over-grown with flagges and rushes. If a poore bodie had brought his Lordship half a dozen pebbles of a curious colour, he would give them a shilling, so curious was he in perfecting his Fish-ponds.

Robert Cecil's gardener, John Tradescant, brought back from a European trip not only numerous plants for the Hatfield gardens, but chests of shells—no doubt for similar ornamentation (see Stone, 'The Building of Hatfield House', 105).

**163. by some Equalitie of Bores:** i.e. equal to the spouts filling the basin.

**164-7. fine Devices, . . . Nothing to Health:** hydraulic effects figure prominently in the new style of Jacobean gardens. See the spectacular programmes created by the Frenchman Solomon de Caus c.1607/8-1613 for Queen Anne at Richmond Palace, which utilized not only elaborate fountains, but grottoes, water-organs, automata, and other effects (Strong, pp. 87-105). One of Bacon's servants, Thomas Bushell, constructed a grotto and hydraulic display c.1628-35 with a hermetical theme which came to be known as the 'Enstone Marvell's' (ibid. 130-3).

**166. and the like:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Campanarum, et similiū; Etiam Rupes artificiosas, et hujusmodi', 'bells and the like'; also artificial rocks and similar stuff'.

**170. Trees I would have none in it:** 38 (*Latin*) adds, 'Nisi quod in aliquibus locis, erigi præcipio Arborum series, quae in Vertice *Ambulacra* contineant, Ramis Arborum cooperta, cum Fenestris. Subjaceat autem Pars Soli Floribus Odoris suavis abunde consita, qui Auras in superius exhalent; Alias Fruticetum apertum esse sine Arboribus velim', 'Except in some places, I direct to be set out a row of trees, which at the top may contain the alleys, covered by the branches of the trees, leaving openings. Moreover, a part should be thrown open to the sun, abundantly planted with sweet-smelling flowers, which will breathe into the upper air; otherwise, I wish the heath to be open without trees'. The 'wilderness' areas at Nonsuch and Theobalds contained trees.

**173. Sweet:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'jucundum spirant Odorem', 'emit a pleasing scent'.

**174-5. these . . . not in any Order:** 38 (*Latin*) reads '*Dumeta* autem, et *Ambulacra* super Arbores, spargi volumus ad placitum, non ordine aliquo collocari', 'moreover we wish thickets and paths about the trees to be scattered at random, not placed in any order'.

**186-7. Beare-berries; . . . Smell:** Reynolds suggests lemma is a variant spelling of 'barberries'. (See line 42 n.; there is no evidence that Bacon read a proof for this forme, however.) In 38 (*Latin*) the reading is 'Oxyocantha', which appears in Parkinson, 3A5, as 'Oxyacantha, sed potius Berberis'; the flowers of the barberry are singled out for their



sweet smell. Bacon presumably wishes to avoid having their scents dominate the heath. *OED* suggests another possibility (specifically rejecting 'Beare-berries' as a variant of 'barberries'); it gives lemma as earliest citation for a 'species of procumbant shrub with astringent berries (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Ericaceae)'. I have not been able to corroborate this identification in seventeenth-century herbals. The next citation in *OED* is from the late eighteenth-century.

197. **Going wet:** i.e. walking in the wet grass.

200. **Borders:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'Terra elevata', 'raised earth'.

202. **Deceive:** 'deprive'; 38 (*Latin*) reads 'succo defraudent', 'defraud of moisture'.

203-5. **Mount . . . to looke abroad:** see the diagram in Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, C2<sup>v</sup>, in which such mounts are provided in each corner of the garden.

218. **Aviaries:** garden aviaries of the period include one in the grotto at Somerset House (Strong, p. 96) and another within an artificial mountain planned by De Caus for Richmond (*ibid.*, Plate 57), as well as the wire enclosure at Nonsuch (Dent, pp. 120-1). But the aviary at Kenilworth described by Laneham in 1575 (Nichols, *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth*, i. 474-5) approximates, within its exotically decorated structure, the sort of natural conditions prescribed in this passage. Aubrey, p. 9, notes that Bacon himself built an aviary at York House for the considerable sum of £300, but provides no details.

220. **may have more Scope:** 38 (*Latin*) reads 'liberius volitent, et se per diversa oblectare', 'may fly about more freely and enjoy themselves in diverse ways'.

222. **Aviary:** 38 (*Latin*) adds 'Quantum vero ad *Ambulacra* in *Clivis*, et variis *Ascensibus* amoenis conficienda, illa Naturæ Dona sunt, nec ubique extrui possunt: Nos autem ea posuimus, quæ omni loco conveniunt', 'Concerning walks on the slopes and various pleasing ascents to be made, these are gifts of nature and cannot be made everywhere; we, however, have mentioned what is suitable for every place'.

227-8. **sometimes adde Statua's:** statues were used throughout the period, e.g. the heraldic figures upon pedestals at Whitehall, the thirty-eight statues of kings and queens at Hampton Court (Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625*, pp. 254-5), the twelve marble emperors in the summer-house at Theobalds (Strong, p. 53), and the Arcadian shepherds and shepherdesses recently installed at Danvers House, Chelsea (*ibid.* 179), a favourite haunt of Bacon's, according to Aubrey, p. 81. In referring to a concern for 'State, and Magnificance' (line 228), Bacon may be thinking of the extravagant new taste for foreign and classical statues at Arundel House or Buckingham's additions to the garden at York House (wrested from Bacon in 1622), featuring Giovanni Bologna's Samson and a Philistine (then called 'Cain and Abel'). See Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 2nd edn. (1634), ed. V. Heltzel (Cornell 1962), 120, 121, and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 24 Jan. 1624/5, clxxxii. 42, 457, and *Apophthegms (Baconiana)*, 1679, vii. 177, 'Sir Francis Bacon coming into the Earl of Arundel's garden, where there were a great

number of ancient statues of naked men and women, made a stand, and as astonished, cried out, *The resurrection.*'

**228. and such Things:** Bacon commissioned a modest garden sculpture in 1618, 'a sun dial of stone, cut in books' (xiii. 330).

## XLVII. 'Of Negotiating' (pp. 145-7)

**11-12. Eye, . . . Direction:** cf. XXII. 20-5.

**19-20. helpe . . . sake:** i.e. improve upon the facts in order to prompt a reward.

**20. such Persons, . . . Businesse:** cf. 'Discourse in Praise of the Queen', viii. 139, '[Queen Elizabeth's] exquisite judgment in choosing and finding good servants . . . her profound discretion in assigning and appropriating every of them to their aptest employment'.

**28-9. better, to sound a Person:** one of the precepts for his own conduct set down in the 1608 notebook, xi. 93, 'Not to fall upon the mayne to soudayne but to induce and intermingle speach of good fashion'.

**31-2. Men in Appetite:** i.e. ambitious men. Bacon praises the queen, *ibid.*, viii. 139, for 'her wonderful art in keeping servants in satisfaction, and yet in appetite'. Cf. his intention to persuade James to a similar attitude regarding legal appointments, xi. 43, 'Rem. to advise the K. not to call Serg<sup>ts</sup> before parlam<sup>t</sup>, but to keep the lawyers in awe'.

**33. Deale . . . upon Conditions:** i.e. conditionally, with the expectation of a return in service or reward. The opaque passage which follows (lines 35-8) considers three factors which may prompt A to accept B's arrangement and act first: (1) the business requires A's initial action; (2) B will continue to need A once he takes this first step; (3) B's superior honesty guarantees that he will fulfil his side of the bargain.

**40. At unawares:** cf. *AL* iii. 457, 'more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words; and in words, rather to sudden passages and surprised words, than to set and purposed words'.

## XLVIII. 'Of Followers and Frends' (pp. 147-9)

**5. his Traine:** 'retinue', with a pun, 'peacock's tail' (*OED*, s.v. 5).

**13. Ill Intelligence:** i.e. misunderstanding.

**23. Exchange Tales:** i.e. trade 'Secrets of the House', lines 20-1.

**28. without too much Pompe:** cf. Chamberlain's criticism of Bacon's investiture procession as Lord Keeper in May 1617 (*Letters*, ii. 72-3). A fragmentary roll of Bacon's household in 1618 (when he was Lord Chancellor) lists the names and functions of one hundred persons at York House, with another fifty at Gorhambury (*State Papers, Domestic, James I*, 95/64; xiii. 336-8).

**31-2. no . . . Sufficiencie:** i.e. when one is not obviously superior to the other.

32-3. **more Passable**, . . . **Able**: i.e. a competent servant who is acceptable to others is preferable to a talented one who is not.

49-50. **Men . . . full of Change**: i.e. susceptible to the most recent influence or opinion. Cf. *AL* iii. 435.

51-2. **For Lookers on**, . . . **Gamesters**: see the exchange of letters between Bacon and the King in 1617 in which Bacon's use of this 'proverb' in criticism of Buckingham (xiii. 239) is angrily turned back upon him by the King (244). Chamberlain (*Letters*, ii. 327) also uses it; not in Tilley or *ODEP*. Quoted in XXVII. 189-94 with 'such other fond and high Imaginations'.

52. **Vale . . . Hill**: recorded in *Promus*, fo. 86, in Tilley V7, and in *AL* iii. 428-9, where it is quoted with the proverb above and termed 'A proverb more arrogant than sound'. Cf. also Tilley H467, 'There is no hill without its valley'. The two proverbs are paraphrased to justify Bacon's paper on Church controversies (x. 103).

### XLIX. 'Of Sutours' (pp. 150-2)

Reynolds quotes Bacon's remark to George Villiers (later Duke of Buckingham) after he was designated the King's favourite, 'No man thinks his business can prosper at Court, unless he hath you for his good angel, or at least that you be not a *Malus Genius* against him' (xiii. 15), and notes numerous points of contact with 'Advice to Villiers', xiii. 27-30.

12-13. **make an Information**: i.e. gain or obtain it.

20. **Sute of Controversie**: i.e. one in a court of law in which a suitor seeks to influence the decision. Bacon specifically warns Buckingham against such interference ('Advice', xiii. 33), but there is ample evidence that he ignored the advice. Cf. LVI. 11 n. for details of Bacon's own corruption; Hurstfield (cited *ibid.*) comments on Buckingham's interference in a case before Bacon's court.

21. **Sute of Petition**: i.e. one seeking help in obtaining a favour or position. Bacon's early career was filled with unsuccessful attempts to obtain preferment. Note petitionary letters to Burghley, to Lord Keeper Puckering, to Essex in his unsuccessful campaign in 1595 to obtain the position of Solicitor-General. Cf. his letter to Puckering, viii. 365, for a good instance of the genre, written two years before the first publication of the essay in 97a:

But now I desire no more favour of your Lordship than I would do if I were a suitor in the Chancery; which is this only, that you would do me right. And I for my part, though I have much to allege, yet nevertheless if I see her Majesty settle her choice upon an able man, such a one as Mr. Serjeant Fleming, I will make no means to alter it. On the other side, if I perceive any insufficient idle man offered to her Majesty, then I think myself double bound to use the best means I can for myself; which I humbly pray your Lordship I may do with your favour, and that you will not disable me furdur than is cause.

As he himself gained position and power under King James, he was, of course, on the receiving end of similar suits.

27. *referre them*: cf. 'Advice', xiii. 29-30.

29-30. *led by the Nose*: Tilley N233; *ODEP* cites Lucian, *Hermotimos*, 168.

31. *Plaine Dealing*: cf. 'Advice', xiii. 28-9.

53. *Iniquum . . . feras*: 'ask for too much, if you want enough.' Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* IV. v. 16 (Wright) quotes as a proverb. Cf. Tilley M272, 'A man must ask excessively to get a little'.

## L. 'Of Studies' (pp. 152-4)

A panegyric in Edward Moning's *The Langrave of Hesse his princelie receivinge of her Majesties Embassador* (1596), D1, plagiarizes from this essay (lines 3-6, 31-6, and from 'Of Followers and Friends' (XLVIII. 43-50), apparently using one of the unauthorized manuscripts in circulation before the publication of the first edition in 1597. (See the Textual Introduction, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.)

27. *read . . . Extracts made*: epitomes are condemned in *AL* iii. 334, as 'corruptions and moths of history'.

30. *like Common distilled Waters*: Reynolds quotes Gervase Markham, *Countrie contentments* (1615), 2C4, on the use of garden stills to prepare distilled radish-water, sage-water, and the like for medicinal purposes.

38. *Abeunt . . . Mores*: 'Studies become manners.' Ovid, *Her.* xv. 83. Cf. *AL* iii. 277.

44-5. *Wandring, . . . Mathematicks*: cf. *AL* iii. 360 and 415, 'if a child be bird-witted, that is, hath not the faculty of attention, the Mathematics giveth a remedy thereunto; for in them, if the wit be caught away but a moment, one is new to begin'.

47-8. *find differences, . . . Schoole-men*: medieval writers of the universities or 'schools', largely followers of Aristotle, who emphasized definition, distinction, and syllogistic reasoning in their works of philosophy, theology, and logic. Cf. *AL* iii. 285-7; 'Filum Labyrinthi', iii. 504.

48. *Cymini sectores*: 'Splitters of cummin seeds.' Cf. *AL* iii. 305, 'Antoninus Pius [emperor AD 138-161], who succeeded him [Hadrian], was a prince excellently learned; and had the patient and subtile wit of a schoolman; insomuch as in common speech . . . he was called *cymini sector*, a carver or divider of cummin seed, which is one of the least seeds'; the phrase is from Dio Cassius, *Epitome Dionis* (1592), 'Antoninus Pius', xvi (z3).

50. *Lawyers Cases*: reports on decided cases, in Law French, were published by James Dyer (1585), Edmund Plowden (1571, 1578), Robert Brooke (1578), and Edward Coke (1600-15). Bacon recommended reforms in law reporting in *De Aug.* v. 104 (i. 821).



## LI. 'Of Faction' (pp. 154-6)

**3. Opinion not wise:** Abbott compares Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, iii. 27 (Gilbert, i. 492).

**9. with Correspondence . . . Persons:** i.e. fashioning the response to the individual.

**11. Meane Men, . . . adhere:** cf. XI. 104-6.

**20-4. betweene Lucullus, . . . brake:** Lucius Licinius Lucullus (c. 117-56 BC) led the opposition in the Senate to Pompey's quest for additional powers. Pompey responded with a faction made up of Crassus and Julius Caesar which (after the death of Crassus), dissolved into a power struggle between Pompey and Caesar, finally resolved with Caesar's victory over Pompey at Pharsalus (Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Pompey', 3N5).

**21. Nobles . . . called Optimates:** much of the hostility to Pompey among the *optimates* ('the best', a conservative bloc of members from a few powerful families) stemmed from objections to his aspirations as a mere *popularis*. See Sulla's strictures in XXVII. 61-8.

**24-8. Partie of Antonius, . . . Subdivided:** after the assassination of Julius Caesar, Antonius joined with Octavius in defeating the conspirators, Brutus and Cassius, at Philippi in 42 BC.

**37-8. goeth . . . it:** i.e. acquires the prize, wins.

**39. casteth them:** i.e. forces down one of the scales.

**44. Padre commune:** cf. P. Sarpi, *The Historie of the Councel of Trent*, trans. N. Brent (1620), I4, 'The Pope, not to prejudice the office of a common Father, whereof his predecessours did ever make ostentation, sent Legates to both the Princes, to mediate a pacification'.

**50-1. Tanquàm unus ex nobis:** 'Just as one of us.' Cf. Gen. 3: 22 (Vulgate, 'Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est') (Reynolds).

**51. League of France:** the league formed in 1576 between Henry III and the Guise. See XV. 50 n.

**58. Primum Mobile:** 'first mover.' See XVII. 22-3; 29 n.

## LII. 'Of Ceremonies and Respects' (pp. 157-9)

**5-6. Vertue: . . . without Foile:** cf. XLIII. 3.

**8. light . . . Purses:** recorded in *Promus*, fo. 89; Tilley G7.

**13-15. as Queene Isabella . . . good Formes:** cf. *Apoph.* vii. 139, 'Queen Isabell of Spain used to say; *Whosoever hath a good presence and a good fashion, carries letters of recommendation*'. Wright cites *Apophthegmata*, ed. G. Tuningius (Leiden, 1609).

**20-2. How . . . small Observations:** *Ant. R.* 34, iv. 486 (i. 701-2) ('not capable of great thoughts').

**25. Formall Natures:** 'unduly precise; ceremonious'; a stock stage-figure: cf. Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*; Don Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost*; the titular character in Chapman's *Gentleman Usher*.



26. **Exalting** . . . **Moone**: cf. Tilley M1114, 'He casts beyond the Moon'.

29-30. **Conveying** . . . **amongst Complements**: 'insinuating amid courtly flattery'. Abbott compares Bacon's advice to Essex (1596), ix. 42:

when at any time your Lordship upon occasion happen in speeches to do her Majesty right (for there is no such matter as flattery amongst you all), I fear you handle it *magis in speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut sentire videaris* ['with words more tricked out for appearance than those that you appear to feel']; so that a man may read formality in your countenance; whereas your Lordship should do it familiarly *et oratione fida* ['with sincere speech'].

36-7. **apply** . . . **others**: Reynolds compares the critique of learned men in *AL* iii. 279-80.

38. **upon Regard**, . . . **Facilitie**: i.e. through personal affection, not fickleness.

47-53. **too full of Respects**, . . . **Motion**: cf. *AL* iii. 447.

49-50. **He** . . . **not reape**: Eccles. 11: 4.

### LIII. 'Of Praise' (pp. 159-60)

3. **Reflection of Vertue**: *Ant. R.* 9, iv. 476 (i. 692); Tilley P541, earliest citation (12b); *ODEP* quotes 'Prayse foloweth vertue, as the shadow doth the bodie' (1551).

7-10. **Lowest** . . . **all**: *Ant. R.* 9, loc. cit.

11. **Species virtutibus similes**: 'Outward appearances like to virtues.' Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 48 (Wright); spoken of Gaius Calpurnius Piso, unsuccessful conspirator against Nero, AD 65.

12. **Fame** . . . **River**: *Ant. R.* 9, loc. cit.; a favourite simile: cf. i. 460; iii. 292, 503; iv. 72, 76 (i. 181, 185).

15. **Nomen** . . . **fragrantis**: 'A good name is like a sweet-smelling ointment.' Cf. Eccles. 7: 2 (Vulgate), 'Melius est nomen bonum, quam unguenta pretiosa', 'A good name is better than precious ointment' (7: 1, AV). Cf. 'Epistle Dedicatorie', line 8.

23. **Arch-Flatterer** . . . **selfe**: cf. X. 28-30; XXVII. 171-3.

28. **Spretâ Consentiâ**: 'Self-knowledge disdained.' The impudent flatterer (lines 25-8) praises the very attribute his victim feels to be a weakness, so that he accepts what he wishes to hear even in the face of his own self-knowledge. Reynolds accuses Bacon of being such a flatterer in his praise of the King's eloquence (e.g. iii. 262; xiv. 172) when contemporary accounts emphasized his speech impediment and Scots dialect.

34. **Pessimum** . . . **laudantium**: 'The worst kind of enemies, the praisers.' Tacitus, *Agr.* 41, 'pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes'.

36. **praised** . . . **Nose**: Bacon may be inaccurately recalling Theocritus,

*Id.* ix. 30, xii. 24 (Wright), where a pimple marks the insincere praiser, not his victim.

37-8. **Blister . . . lye:** Tilley R84, 'Report has a blister on her tongue'.

38-9. **with Opportunity, and not Vulgar:** i.e. at appropriate times, not indiscriminately; *12b* is clearer, 'not vulgar, but appropriate'.

40-1. **praiseth . . . Curse:** Prov. 27: 14 (Geneva; 'blesseth' AV).

43. **Praise . . . Decent:** cf. Tilley P547, 'He that praises himself spatters himself'; also C554, M476.

50. **Sbirrerie:** *Harmony* suggests derivation from Italian *sbirro*, 'bailiff' or 'constable'. Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), 2F5<sup>v</sup>, lists '*Sbirreria*' as a morphological variant of '*Sbirraglia*', 'the crue, company, or order of base catchpoles or sergeants'.

52. **Catchpoles:** 'petty officers of justice.' Reynolds compares John Cowell's *The Interpreter . . . of such Words and Termes as are mentioned in the Lawe Writers, or Statutes* (Cambridge, 1607), M2<sup>v</sup>, 'though it now be used as a word of contempt, yet in auncient times, it seemeth to have been used without reproch, for such as we now call sergeants of the mace or any other that use to arrest men upon any cause'; cf. LVI. 98-9, 'Catching and Poling Clerks and Ministers'.

55. **I . . . Foole:** 2 Cor. 11: 23.

56. **Magnificabo Apostolatium meum:** 'I will magnify my apostolate.' Cf. Rom. 11: 13 (Vulgate), 'Quamdiu quidem ego sum Gentium Apostolus, ministerium meum honorificabo', 'in as much as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnifie mine office' (AV).

### LIIII. 'Of Vaine-Glory' (pp. 161-2)

3-5. **The Fly . . . raise:** as noted by Scott (1908) and J. T. Boulton, 'A Baconian Error', *NQ* 202 (1957), 378, not by Aesop, but Laurentius Abstemius, whose fables (Venice, ? 1499) were published with Renaissance editions of Aesop, e.g. *Aesopi Phrygis et Aliorum Fabulae* (Lyons, 1535). Tilley D652 (1581; not attributed to Aesop). Cf. 'Speech concerning the Undertakers', xii. 43.

8-10. **Glorious, . . . Violent:** cf. *Ant. R.* 19, iv. 480 (i. 696), 'Vain-glorious persons are ever factious, liars, inconstant, extreme'. Cf. below, lines 25-6.

12. **French . . . Fruit:** Tilley B690, earliest citation (*12b*).

17-18. **Antiochus . . . Lies:** Livy, xxxv. 12. In 194 BC the Aetolians sent ambassadors to Nabis of Sparta, Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus, 'not only to sound their minds and affections, but also to incite and pricke them every one forward to enter into armes against the Romanes' (trans. P. Holland [1600], 4G2), in each case tailoring their argument to the individual.

28. **as Iron sharpens Iron:** recorded in *Promus*, fo. 93<sup>v</sup>, Tilley 191a; Prov. 27: 17, 'Iron sharpeneth iron: so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend'.

34-5. **Qui . . . inscribunt:** 'Those who write books on scorning glory,

sign their names.' Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* I. xv. 34, 'nonne in iis libris ipsis, quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt?'

35. **Socrates:** cf. *AL* iii. 388, 'It is true that in Socrates it was supposed to be but a form of irony, *Scientiam dissimulando simulavit*, for he used to disable his knowledge, to the end to enhance his knowledge'.

**Aristotle:** Reynolds compares 'Filum Labyrinthi', iii. 502, 'Aristotle . . . came with a professed contradiction to all the world, and did put all his opinions upon his own authority and argument, and never so much as nameth an author but to confute and reprove him; and yet his success well fulfilled the observation of Him that said, *If a man come in his own name, him will you receive*'.

**Galen:** Galen of Pergamum (AD 129-? 199), Greek physician and founder of experimental physiology; his writings drew upon his animal dissections and were influential into the Renaissance. Bacon elsewhere attacks him, 'virum augustissimi animi, desertorem experientiae, et vanissimum causatorem', 'a man of most narrow mind, a deserter of experiment, and a most vain case-pleader' ('Temporis Partus Masculus' ['Masculine Birth of Time'], iii. 531).

37-9. **Vertue . . . Second Hand:** cf. *Ant. R.* 19, iv. 480 (i. 696), 'It is a shame for the suitor to woo the waiting-woman, and praise is the waiting-woman to virtue'.

39. **Cicero:** Abbott cites a letter in which he beseeches the historian Luceius to eulogize him (*Epist. ad Fam.* V. xii. 3).

**Seneca:** his vanity consists in his assertion of self-sufficiency and his declaration (*Epist.* viii. 1) that he writes for future generations (Reynolds).

40. **Plinius Secundus:** Pliny the Younger (c.AD 61-115), quoted below, lines 54-8. Cf. *Epist.* ix. 23 (Reynolds).

44-5. **Omnium, . . . Ostentator:** 'a boaster with a certain art to all he had said or done.' Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 80, 'omniumque quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator'. Mucianus, consul under Nero and governor of Syria, supported Vespasian's claim to imperial power and became his close advisor afterwards. Cf. *LIX.* 38-41; *AL* iii. 462. The portrait by Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 10, is less flattering.

53-8. **In . . . lesse:** Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 17, in which he criticizes a group of speakers for failing to respond to one another's reading.

59. **Idols of Parasites:** cf. *Ant. R.* 19, loc. cit., 'Thraso is Gnatho's prey'; i.e. in Terence's *Eunuchus*, Thraso, the foolish boasting soldier, is lavishly flattered by the parasite, Gnatho.

## LV. 'Of Honour and Reputation' (pp. 163-5)

4. **Winning:** the *H51* reading, 'true Wynning', sharpens the essay's contrast; 'right Use' is again a major concern.

14. **Follower:** *H51* adds a sentence (see the Historical Collation) which is omitted in 12b-25. A rare deletion; though Bacon records such

cynicism in his private notebook (quoted below, line 20), he may have decided here that publication would be impolitic.

**17-19. ill . . . him:** Wright compares Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 25:

His saying was, That neither battaile nor warre was once to be under taken, unlesse there might be evidently seene more hope of gaine than feare of damage: for . . . he likened unto those, that angle or fish with a golden hooke: for the losse whereof, if it happened to be knapt or broken off, no draught of fish whatsoever, was able to make amends (trans. P. Holland [1606], E6<sup>v</sup>).

**20. broken . . . Reflection:** cf. Bacon's own plan in 1608 to advance at the expense of Attorney-General Henry Hobart—'To wynne cred. comparate to y<sup>e</sup> Att. in being more short, rownd and resolute' (xi. 46); 'To have in mynd and use y<sup>e</sup> Att. weakeness' (50)—and the list of the Attorney's weaknesses, 'Hubb. [Hubbard, i.e. Hobart] disadvant.' (92). Cf. *1 Henry IV*, III. ii. 147-50.

**22-3. Out-shooting . . . Bowe:** Tilley B563.

**24-5. Omnis . . . emanat:** 'All reputation derives from the servants' (paraphrased in lines 23-4). Quintus Cicero, *De petitione consultatus*, v. 17, a work Bacon terms 'the only book of business that I know written by the ancients' (*AL* iii. 448).

**25-6. Envy, . . . Honour:** cf. Tilley A171a, 'Envy is the companion of honor'.

**25-7. Envy, . . . Fame:** cf. XL. 42-4.

**31. Conditores Imperiorum:** 'Founders of empires.' So Bacon designates the King in 1608 for the proposed unification of Scotland and England and the plantation of Ireland (xi. 116), and again in 1616, when he suggests that the King add to this first degree of sovereign honour the second, that of lawgiver (see line 34), by supporting a proposal to amend the laws (xiii. 63-4). In *Nov. Org.* iv. 113 (i. 221), Bacon notes that antiquity awarded 'divine honours' to those who made inventions and 'no higher honours then heroic' to 'those who did good service in the state (such as founders of cities and empires, legislators, saviours of their country from long endured evils, quellers of tyrannies and the like)', thus combining the first three degrees of the essay.

**32. Romulus:** legendary founder of Rome. Abandoned by a usurping uncle, he and his twin brother, Remus, sons of Mars and Rhea Silvia, were suckled by a she-wolf; the omens of birds designated Romulus founder (Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Romulus', B5).

**Cyrus:** Cyrus the Great (d. 529 BC), founder of the Persian monarchy. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a fictionalized political treatise based upon his life, helped to make him an exemplary figure in the Renaissance who was praised by Hoby, Elyot, Spenser, and, most notably, Sidney in *A Defence of Poetry* (in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, edd. K. Duncan-Jones and J. Van Dorsten [Oxford, 1973], 81).

**Cæsar:** Octavius Caesar Augustus (63 BC-AD 14) was the first Roman emperor, but since he is cited below (line 41) as 'Augustus Caesar',



Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) is probably intended here; his pacification of Italy and the provinces and his introduction of personal autocracy into Roman government may be viewed by Bacon as providing the foundation for the empire.

**33. Ottoman:** Othman, or Osman (1259-1326). Cf. Knolles, Q5, 'Of a poore lordship he left a great kingdome, having subdued a great part of the lesser ASIA: and is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turks great kingdome and empire. Of him, the Turkish kings and emperours ever since, have bene called the *Othoman* kings and emperours, as lineally of him descended'.

**Ismael:** cited in XLIII. 13, as 'Ismael the *Sophy* of *Persia*'. Cf. *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 3rd edn. (1617), 205<sup>v</sup>, 'OF ISMAEL SOFI, FIRST FOUNDER OF THE PRESENT PERSIAN EMPIRE, OR FIFTH DYNASTIE'.

**34. Law-givers:** Bacon tried unsuccessfully to involve at first Queen Elizabeth and then King James as lawgivers in his scheme to simplify and consolidate English law. He mentioned the need for reform in *Gesta Grayorum* in 1594, viii. 339-400, prepared the *Maxims of the Law* in 1597 (posthumously published), vii. 313-87, proposed a digest of the laws of England and Scotland as the first step to a union of their laws in 1604, x. 230-33, noted the project in 1608, 'New lawes to be compounded and collected; Lawgyver perpetuus princeps', xi. 74, detailed while Attorney-General in 1616 a 'Proposition' for amending and consolidating the laws, xiii. 61-71, and made a final 'Offer to the King of a Digest to be made of the Laws of England' after his impeachment, xiv. 358-64. See P. H. Kocher, 'Francis Bacon on the Science of Jurisprudence', *JHI* 18 (1957), 3-26. Cf. also 'Treatise on Universal Justice', *De Aug.* v. 88-109 (i. 803-27).

**35. Perpetui Principes:** 'perpetual princes.'

**35-6. Gouverne . . . gone:** cf. xii. 85, 'There is a second work which needeth no Parliament, and is one of the rarest works of sovereign merit which can fall under the acts of a King. For Kings that do reform the body of their Laws are not only *Reges* but *Legis-latores*, and as they have been well called *perpetui Principes*, because they reign in their Laws for ever'; and 'Proposition', xiii. 64.

**36. Lycurgus:** traditional name of the seventh-century BC reformer of the Spartan government and social system, whose strict regimen pervaded life and manners and produced a formidable military race. (See Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lycurgus', *passim*).

**Solon:** Athenian poet and statesman (c.640/635-c.561/56 BC), he revised the constitution, broadening participation, and devised a humane law code to replace the harsh Draconian laws. Bacon cites Solon and Lycurgus as precedents for his own proposals of reform (xiii. 66; xiv. 360).

**Justinian:** Justinian I, emperor AD 527-565. Under his direction Roman law was consolidated and abridged as the *Corpus juris civilis*. Cf. 'Offer of a Digest', xiv. 361; vii. 314; xiii. 66.

**37. Eadgar:** King of England (959-75). Cf. 'Offer of a Digest', xiv.

361, '*King Edgar* collected the laws of this kingdom, and gave them the strength of a faggot bound, which formerly were dispersed; which was more glory to him than his sailing about this island with a potent fleet. For that . . . vanished; but this lasteth'; 'Proposition', xiii. 66; 'Case of the Post-Nati of Scotland', vii. 647. His laws are included in William Lambard's edition (Old English/Latin) of the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, *Archaionomia sive de priscis anglorum legibus libri* (1568).

37-8. **Alphonsus . . . Siete Partidas**: Alfonso X, Spanish King of Castile and Leon (1252-84), largely responsible for *Las siete partidas*, a compilation of the legal knowledge of his time, so titled for its seven main parts. In 'Offer of a Digest', xiv. 361-2, Bacon associates the title with the number of years required for its completion.

38-42. **Liberatores**, . . . **France**: Augustus Caesar, Vespasian, Henry VII of England, and Henry IV of France may be said to have liberated their countries from civil war, while Aurelian and Theodoric delivered them from strangers or tyrants.

43. **Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperii**: 'Enlargers or defenders of empire'; paraphrased in lines 44-5.

46. **Patres Patriæ**: 'Fathers of their country.' Cicero was first hailed with this title (see Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Cicero', 4H6<sup>v</sup>, marginal note); Julius Caesar and Augustus accepted the honorific, but Tiberius refused it; his successors accepted. Bacon applies the phrase to James, xiii. 24.

49. **Participes Curarum**: 'sharers of cares.' Wright cites Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius*, 67 (applied to Sejanus). In XXVII. 47-60, it is termed 'the Roman Name' for 'Favorite' (separately distinguished below, lines 53-4.

51-2. **Duces Belli**: 'leaders of war.'

53-4. **Gratosi**; **Favourites**: cf. 'Advice to Villiers', xiii. 14, 27; as Abbott notes, it is clear that Bacon here considers Villiers as more of a 'sharer of care' than a mere favourite. For a more negative view of the favourite, see the cancelled passage in *H51*, XX. 59.

56. **Negotiis pares**: 'equals in business.' Cf. XXIX. 26 n.

61. **M. Regulus**: Roman general (d. c.250 BC) who, when captured by the Carthaginians and sent to Rome to negotiate a peace, urged the Senate instead to reject the terms, then returned to Carthage to a death by torture. (Horace, *Carm.* iii. 5, 13-56.)

61. **the Two Decii**: father and son (Publius Mus Decius) who, according to Livy (viii. 9; x. 28), in battles in 343 BC and 295 BC sacrificed themselves by the rite of *devotio*, a solemn dedication in the midst of battle of self and enemy to the gods, followed by a charge into enemy ranks to certain death, but ultimate victory. Marwil, p. 199, suggests that this final sentence was, in effect, Bacon's self-epitaph.

## LVI. 'Of Judicature' (pp. 165-9)

Bacon's interest in judicature and the law was lifelong, and his practical experience varied. Admitted to Gray's Inn in 1576, he was called to the bar in 1582. He kept chambers in the Inn and took an active role in the

Society: Benchers 1586; Lent Reader, 1588; Double Lent Reader, 1600; and Treasurer, 1608-17 (cf. *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, ed. R. J. Fletcher, i [London, 1901], *passim*). He served Queen Elizabeth as Learned Counsel Extraordinary. King James named him King's Counsel in 1604, Solicitor-General in 1607, and Attorney-General in 1613. In 1611 he was named Judge of Knight Marshall's Court. In the position of Lord Keeper (March 1616/17) and Lord Chancellor (January 1617/18), he served as Chief Judge of the Court of Chancery until his removal in May 1621.

In addition to the numerous extant speeches and charges delivered as counsel, Attorney-General, and Chancery judge (see viii-xiv, *passim*), his legal writings, ranging from a fragment of his reading at Gray's Inn on the Statute of Uses to the procedural 'Ordinances for Chancery', fill a volume (vii). See LV. 34 n. for his interest in law reform and codification. Reports on his Chancery decisions 1617-21 are also extant (*Report of Cases*). The text of 25 is essentially that of 12b (with some chiefly stylistic revisions). Thus, Bacon's reflections on the office of a judge were composed before he himself had taken on his most active legal roles as Attorney-General or Chancery judge, and may have been calculated, in part, to demonstrate his own suitability for these positions so long sought. Many of the points raised in 1612 (e.g. jurisdiction, consultation between king and judges, corruption) proved to be major controversies in the decade following (see below).

3-4. **Jus dicere, . . . dare:** cf. *Ant. R.* 46, iv. 491 (i. 706); *De Aug.* v. 96 (i. 813). Reynolds notes King James's paraphrase in 'A Speech in the Starre-chamber' in 1616 (*Workes* [1616], 2A2), a speech which Bacon takes credit for urging him to make (xiv. 70).

9-10. **more Learned, then Wittie:** cf. Bacon's instructions to new justices, 'Hutton' (1617), xiii. 202; 'Whitlock' (1620), xiv. 103.

10. **More Reverend, then Plausible:** cf. 'Speech . . . before the Summer Circuits', xiii. 211, 'A popular Judge is a deformed thing: and *plaudite's* are fitter for players than for magistrates. Do good to the people, love them and give them justice. But let it be, as the Psalm saith, *nihil inde expectantes*; looking for nothing, neither praise nor profit'.

11. **more Advised, then Confident:** cf. Bacon's self-analysis on taking his seat in Chancery in 1617, xiii. 189-90, 'For I confess I have somewhat of the cunctative [i.e. prone to delay]; and I am of opinion that whosoever is not wiser upon advice than upon the sudden, the same man is no wiser at fifty than he was at thirty, and it was my father's ordinary word, *You must give me time*'. Cf. XXV. 17-19. Reynolds notes Bacon's criticism of his rival, Lord Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634), 'whose great travels [travails] as I much commend, yet that same *plerophoria*, or over-confidence, doth always subject things to a great deal of chance' (xii. 232).

**Above all Things, Integritie:** cf. 'Whitlock', xiv. 103:

Keep your hands clean, and the hands of your servants that are about you: keep them in awe, that they may not dare to move you

in things unfit. Fly all bribery and corruption, and preserve your integrity, not respecting any in course of justice; for what avails it if you should be incorrupt and yet should be partial and a respecter of persons?

Spedding observes, *ibid.* n. 1, that Bacon spoke these words on the very day (29 June 1620) on which he made the final order in the case of Lady Wharton from whom he had three days earlier accepted a purse containing £100. An additional £200 was received a few days afterwards. Bacon was impeached and removed from office in May 1621 for corruption. See analysis and documents, xiv. 213–71 (especially his ‘Confession and Submission’, 252–62); S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603–1642* (1883), iv. 56–107; and J. Hurstfield, *Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England* (1973), 144–7. Note that Bacon makes no changes or additions to this passage for 25. But see XI. 72–85, especially lines 80–3 added in 25.

12–13. **Cursed . . . Land-marke:** Deut. 27: 17.

16–17. **One Foule . . . more Hurt:** especially in a system of common law in which adjudged cases become precedent for future justice.

19–20. **Fons turbatus, . . . Adversario:** ‘A just man falling down in his cause before his adversary is a troubled fountain and a corrupt stream’. Paraphrase of Prov. 25: 26 (Vulgate); quoted correctly in *AL* iii. 450.

24–5. **There be . . . Worme-wood:** Amos 5: 7. Reynolds quotes *Henry 7*, vi. 217, where the Privy Councillors Empson and Dudley are so accused.

27. **Delaies make it Soure:** Bacon attempted to minimize delays in his own court of Chancery by adding afternoon sessions and an extra two weeks to term of sitting, and by promising judgment as soon as possible after the hearing, ‘for fresh justice is the sweetest’ (xiii. 189–91). See his triumphant letters to Buckingham announcing that the backlog had been cleared (xiii. 208–9, 283; xiv. 14).

32–4. **as God . . . downe Hills:** Isa. 40: 3–4.

36. **Great Counsell:** i.e. ‘disparity of counsellors’.

38–9. **Qui . . . sanguinem:** ‘He who blows his nose vigorously, makes it bleed.’ Prov. 30: 33 (Vulgate, reading ‘vehementer’ for ‘fortiter’).

41–2. **Hard . . . Inferences:** cf. King James, ‘A Speech in the Starre-chamber’, *Workes*, 3A2<sup>v</sup>, ‘For I will never trust any Interpretation, that agreeth not with my common sense and reason, and trew Logicke: for *Ratio est anima Legis* in all humane Lawes, without exception; it must not be Sophistrie or straines of wit that must interpret, but either cleare Law, or solide reason’. Cf. *Ant. R.* 46, iv. 491 (i. 706), ‘The sense according to which each word is to be interpreted must be gathered from all the words together’.

42–3. **no Worse . . . Lawes:** *Ant. R.* 46, loc. cit.; cf. *De Aug.* v. 91 (i. 806).

47. **Pluet super eos Laqueos:** ‘He shall rain snares upon them.’ Ps. 11: 7 (Vulgate, ‘super peccatores’) (Ps. 11: 6, AV). Bacon frequently



uses the phrase to urge the reform and repeal of superfluous laws: e.g. v. 98 (i. 815); x. 19, 336; xiii. 65. (See also Vickers, p. 215.)

**48-51. let Penall Laws, . . . confined in the Execution:** cf. 'Proposition touching Amendment of Laws' (1616), xiii. 61-71, esp. 65.

**51-2. Judicis . . . Rerum:** 'it is the duty of the judge [to regard] both the deed and the circumstance of the deed.' Ovid, *Trist.* I. i. 37.

**57. Patience . . . Hearing:** cf. Bacon's condemnation of those judges who 'take the tale out of the counsellor at the bar his mouth', his own intention to 'hear patiently' (xiii. 190-1), and his advice to others (xiii. 202; xiv. 103). Reynolds quotes a similar speech of Lord Keeper Ellesmere to Coke's successor on the bench, Sir Henry Montagu, which criticizes Coke for lacking this virtue.

**58. no well tuned Cymball:** Ps. 150. 5 (Prayer Book version) (Singer).

**64. Moderate Length, . . . Speech:** cf. Bacon's judgment in *Thorold v. Thorold and others* (1620), 'A defendant who puts in an answer of inordinate length causing unnecessary trouble and expense, and uses words therein slanderous and derogatory of the Court, commits serious contempts of Court, and may be punished by imprisonment, and ordered to pay the costs which the plaintiff has thereby incurred' (*Reports of Cases*, p. 121).

**72-3. represseth . . . Modest:** paraphrase of James 4: 6, 'God resisteth the proude, but giveth grace unto the humble'.

**74. Judges . . . Noted Favourites:** *12b* is more complaisant: 'the custome of the time doth warrant Judges to have'. Cf. his condemnation in 1617—'favourites (as they call them, a term fitter for kings than judges)'—and his proposal to 'help the generality of lawyers, and therein ease the client' (xiii. 192).

**93. Foot-pace:** a crux. *OED*, s.v. 2b, includes the lemma, defining 'dais; raised portion of floor', but the context suggests the walking area near the bench (cf. *OED*, s.v. 2a, 'carpet or mat').

**93-4. Precincts, and Purprise:** a 'purprise' (or 'pourprise') was an enclosure or verge; apparently synonymous with 'precinct' (cf. Pliny, *Naturall Historie*, trans. P. Holland [1601], N4, 'a pourprise or precinct of three miles compasse'). Reynolds glosses 'the whole area and enclosure of the court'.

**94-5. without Scandall and Corruption:** see above, lines 11-12.

**95-6. Grapes, . . . Thistles:** Matt. 7: 16, 'Yee shall knowe them by their fruits: Doe men gather grapes of thornes, or figges of thistles?'

**100. Sowers of Suits:** cf. xiii. 192, proposing higher fines for unproven actions.

**102-3. Quarells of Jurisdiction:** a major source of controversy between courts of equity and courts of common law, since the former took action relating to judgments made by the latter. In February 1615/16, Coke as a judge of the King's Bench attempted to bring an indictment of *praemunire* (based upon a statute of 1354 relating to jurisdictions of ecclesiastical courts and secular courts) against the Court of Chancery for its reversal of a judgment made in the King's Bench. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere rejected the argument and the King,

after further consultation, including Attorney-General Bacon, issued an order in favour of Chancery (Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, i [Boston, 1922], 459-63). See Bacon's letter of advice to the King (which he asked him to burn), xii. 249-54, especially 'that your Majesty take this occasion to redouble unto all your Judges your ancient and true charge and rule, that you will endure no innovating the point of jurisdiction, but will have every court impaled within their own precedents, and not assume to themselves new powers upon conceits and inventions of law' (253). See also xiii. 184, 202; *De Aug.* v. 109 (i. 826).

**103-4. not truly Amici Curiae, . . . Curiae:** not truly 'friends of the court', but 'parasites of the court'.

**110. Poler and Exacter of Fees:** Bacon promises that in Chancery 'justice might pass with as easy charge as mought be; and that those same brambles that grow about justice, of needless charge and expense, and all manner of exactions, mought be rooted out so far as mought be' (xiii. 184), declaring 'I shall be careful there be no exaction of any new fees, but according as they have been heretofore set and tabled' (192); see xiv. 104. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, i [Boston, 1922], 424-8, documents numerous abuses in Chancery, including bribes paid to expedite cases, unnecessary copies of court documents (often padded with white space, flourishes, and large margins), and contradictory procedures.

**111-13. Common Resemblance of the Courts . . . Fleece:** proverbial; cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), 'Democritus to the Reader', d3, 'So that he that goes to law, as the Proverbe is, holds a wolfe by the eares [Tilley L98], or as a sheepe in a storme runs for shelter to a brier, prosecute his cause, he is consumed, if he surcease his suite he looseth all, what difference?' (Reynolds).

**114-17. an Ancient Clerke, . . . himself:** cf. *Dodson v. Lutterford and others* (1617), 'Bacon, L[ord] K[eeper], ordered that two of the most ancient of the six clerks should certify his Lordship in writing what was and had been the privilege and course of this Court for giving relief in such cases, that his Lordship might thereupon give such further order as should be fit' (*Reports of Cases*, p. 62).

**120. Roman Twelve Tables:** the earliest code of Roman laws (451-450 BC), published on tablets in the Forum; destroyed when the Gauls burnt Rome, the laws are known only through fragments and quotations. See 'Offer of a Digest', xiv. 360.

**120. Salus Populi Suprema Lex:** 'The welfare of the people is the highest law.' Singer notes that Bacon's source is probably Cicero, *De legibus*, III. iii. 8. Cicero is casting laws for his ideal republic in legal language (II. xvii. 18), not quoting the original.

**123-5. when Kings . . . State:** as Reynolds establishes, consultation became a principal issue in James's reign, in which Bacon was involved directly. See 'Peacham's Case' (1615), xii. 90-111, 119-28; *De Rege Inconsulto* (January 1615/16), vii. 683-725; 'Case of Commendam' (1616), xii. 357-69. For his defiance and his jurisdictional squabble

with Chancery (see lines 102-3 n.), Coke was removed from office. (See Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, v [Boston, 1927], 438-40, and C. D. Bowen's biography of Coke [Boston, 1957], which takes its title from line 139 below.)

129-31. *Meum and Tuum*, . . . *Estate*: i.e. a private case may turn out to have public implications.

135-6. *Just Laws*, . . . *Sinewes*: Reynolds compares 'Case of the Post-Nati', vii. 646.

137-8. *Salomons Throne*, . . . *by Lions*: 1 Kgs. 10: 19-20.

138-40. *Lions*, but . . . *Soveraigntie*: cf. 'Hutton', xiii. 202, '... the twelve Judges of the realm . . . must be lions, but yet lions under the throne', and King James's 'A Speach in the Starre-chamber', 'Incroach not upon the Prerogative of the Crowne: If there fall out a question that concernes my Prerogative or mystery of State, deale not with it, till you consult with the King or his Councell, or both' (*Workes*, [1616], 3A2<sup>v</sup>).

145-6. *Nos* . . . *Legitimè*: 'We know that the law is good, if only a man use it lawfully.' 1 Tim. 1: 8 (Vulgate, 'Scimus autem quia bona est lex, si quis ea legitime utatur'). Cf. Tilley L115.

## LVII. 'Of Anger' (pp. 170-1)

4-5. *Be Angry* . . . *Anger*: Eph. 4: 26.

16-17. *Anger* . . . *falls*: Seneca, *De ira*, i. 1 (Wright).

17-18. *possesse* . . . *Patience*: Luke 21: 19.

20. *Animasque* . . . *ponunt*: 'And lay down their lives in the wound.' Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 238.

22-3. *Weaknesse* . . . *Sicke Folkes*: Reynolds compares Plutarch, *Morals*, L2:

For like as swelling is a symptome or accident following upon a great wound or hurt in the flesh: even so it is in the tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yeeld unto dolor and passion, the more plentie of choler and anger they utter foorth as proceeding from the greater weaknes. By this you may see the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst and shrewd than men; sicke folke more testie than those that are in health; old people more waiward and froward than those that be in the floure and vigor of their yeeres.

29-31. *too Sensible* . . . *oft Angry*: cf. IIII. 36-8.

41. *Consalvo*: Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453-1515), Spanish general, called 'The Great Captain'. He aided in the conquest of Granada, fought the Moriscos and the Turks, and twice drove the French from Naples, which he governed briefly. Guicciardini, *Historie* (trans. 1579), comments briefly on his exploits, his nickname (spelling his name as Bacon does), and his death (2E4<sup>v</sup>, 303<sup>v</sup>), but does not refer to his aphorism.

42. *Telam Honoris crassiore*: 'A stronger web of honour.' Cf. *Apoph.* vii. 150; *AL* iii. 423-4; *De Aug.* v. 10 (i. 721); and, especially, *Charge touching Duels*, xi. 406-7 (in Italian).

50-1. *Communia Maledicta*: 'common abuses.'

61-2. when . . . *Angry Businessse*: cf. XXII. 29-33.

### LVIII. 'Of Vicissitude of Things' (pp. 172-6)

1-2. Cf. *AL* iii. 265, 'God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror or glass capable of the image of the universal world, . . . and not only delighted in beholding the variety of things and vicissitude of times, but raised also to find out and discern the ordinances and decrees which throughout all those changes are infallibly observed'.

4. *no New Thing upon the Earth*: paraphrase of Eccles. 1: 9, 'no new thing under the sunne'.

5-6. *all . . . Remembrance*: Plato, *Phaedo*, 72 e; *Meno*, 81 c-d (Bacon used a Latin translation; see XXXV lines 94-5). Cf. *AL* iii. 261-2.

6-7. *all Noveltie . . . Oblivion*: Eccles. 1: 10-11.

8. *Lethe*: river in Hades whose waters caused oblivion when drunk.

9. *an abstruse Astrologer*: Reynolds suggests Telesius, *De rerum natura* (1565), i. 10; paraphrased in Bacon's *De Principiis atque Originibus*, iii. 98-100.

19. *Phaetons . . . a day*: Ovid, *Met.* ii. 35-328. Phaethon was unable to control the fiery chariot of his father, the sun-god, and it plunged close to the earth setting off conflagrations, scorching out deserts, and burning the skins of the Ethiopians black.

19-20. *Three yeares Drought, . . . Elias*: 1 Kgs. 17: 1, 18: 1.

22. *West Indies*: in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries a name for the Americas, not just the islands. *OED* quotes 'America, which we now call the West Indies' (1594); Reynolds quotes *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), iii. 143.

24-6. *Remnant . . . no Account*: cf. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, ii. 5 (Gilbert, i. 341) (Abbott), and the detailed account in *New Atlantis*, iii. 143.

31-4. *not by Earth-quakes, . . . Particular Deluge*: *New Atlantis*, iii. 142-3. Cf. Joseph Acosta, *The Natural and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (trans. 1604), F8:

They [the Indians] make great mention of a deluge happened in their Countrie: but we cannot well judge if this deluge were universall (whereof the scripture makes mention,) or some particular inundation of those regions where they are. . . . I am of their opinion which thinke that these markes and shewes of a deluge, was not that of *Noe*, but some other particular, as that which *Plato* speaks of, or *Deucalions* floud, which the Poets, sing of: whatsoever it be, the *Indians* say, that all men were drowned in this deluge.

33. *Atlantis . . . Earth-quake*: Plato, *Timaeus*, 30 d; Acosta, F4<sup>v</sup>-F5, dismisses Plato's account.



35. Earth-quakes are seldome in those Parts: Acosta, however, devotes a chapter (iii. 26) to the earthquakes of the Indies.

36-7. such Powring Rivers, . . . them: cf. Acosta, 'And this River [the Amazon] is so great, as Nile, Ganges and Euphrates all together cannot equal it' (G6v), and 'There are many other rivers that are not of that greatnes, and yet are equall: yea they surpassed the greatest of Europe' (N1).

41. Observation, that Macciavel hath: *Discorsi*, ii. 5 (Gilbert, i. 340).

43. Gregory the Great: Pope 590-604. Cf. *AL* iii. 300.

46. Sabinian, . . . Antiquities: Pope 604-6. Cf. 'Filum Labyrinthii', iii. 501.

48-9. Plato's great Yeare: *Timaeus*, 39 d. *OED* quotes Blundevil, *Exercises* (1594), 'The great yeare is a space of time in the which not onely all the Planets, but also all the fixed starres that are in the firmament, having ended all their revolutions do return againe to the selfe same places in the heavens, which they had at the first beginning of the world'. Variously computed as 10,000 to 36,000 years; c. 25800 (*OED*).

56-7. then wisely observed . . . Effects: a 'History of Comets' is included in a list of 130 natural histories for the Great Instauration, iv. 265 (i. 405); part of the proposed history of meteors, v. 509 (iii. 733).

67. the Prime: *OED*, s.v. 4b, which cites lemma as the sole instance, suggests that this cycle of weather may take its name by analogy with a lunar cycle of nineteen years.

71-2. Vicissitude . . . Religions: cf. III.

73. built upon the Rocke: Matt. 16: 18.

84. All . . . Mahomet published: Mahomet (or Muhammad), AD ? 570-632; claiming to be the last of the prophets, he founded Islam, whose doctrines and practices are recorded in the Koran, said to be revealed to Mahomet by God through the angel Gabriel. Cf. XVI. 2; XII. 31-8.

86-9. Supplanting, . . . Life: cf. the comments on the Anabaptists in III. 134-5 n.

89-90. Speculative Heresies . . . the Arrians: Arius taught (c. AD 318-21) that God had created the Son from nothing and before the creation of other things; hence, he was the first creature, but neither eternal nor equal with the Father. Arius was excommunicated on the grounds that he had made Christ merely a divine creature, neither truly God nor truly man. See the Nicene Creed (AD 325), 'I believe . . . in the one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages; God of God, light of light, true God of true God; begotten not made; consubstantial with the Father by whom all things were made'.

91. the Arminians: Jacobus Arminius (1560-1640), a Dutch Reformed theologian, opposed predestination and the doctrine of the elect, emphasizing free will. Bacon praises King James for his writings against the Arminians in a cancelled passage of a 1612 letter (xi. 313 n. 2).

110. Persians: in the fifth century BC, they extended their power through western Asia and Egypt; their efforts under Darius I and

Xerxes to defeat the Greek city-states resulted in the Persian Wars (500-479 BC).

**Assyrians:** from the ninth to the seventh century BC, their empire grew to extend from the upper Tigris to the banks of the Nile.

**Arabians:** united by Islam in the seventh century AD, the Arabs led by the Omayyad Caliphate conquered Egypt, Syria, Turkistan, and Persia.

**Tartars:** Batu Khan, grandson of the Mongol Genghis Khan (1162-1227), conquered Moscow and Kiev, and in 1241 invaded Hungary, Poland, and Germany with a mixed horde of Mongol and Turkish elements known to Europeans as Tartars. Cf. *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1617), 2Q5.

**113. one to Gallo-Grecia:** i.e. Galatia, a territory in central Asia Minor conquered by the Gauls c.278 BC.

**the other to Rome:** Celts, led by Brennus, sacked Rome c.387 BC.

**120. in respect of the Stars:** i.e. the stars of the northern regions may have influenced martial behaviour.

**132-3. Empire of Almaigne, . . . Fether:** Charlemagne (742-814) extended the kingdom of the Franks by defeating the Lombards, conquering Saxony, and advancing east to Pomerania; he was crowned emperor by the Pope in 800. His empire was partitioned among the three sons of his son Emperor Louis in 842: Louis the German took the eastern part (Germany), Charles the Bald the western (France), and Lothair the imperial title and the central portion (the Low Countries, Lorraine, Alsace, Burgundy, Provence, and Italy).

**134. not unlike . . . Spaine:** cf. 'Notes of a speech concerning a War with Spain' (1623-4), xiv. 464.

**147. by Lot:** cf. 'Britain', vii. 57; Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, i. 1 (Gilbert, iii. 1034).

**157. Oxidrakes in India:** Bacon's source is Raleigh, *History of the World* (1614), IV. ii. 21 (Reynolds).

**159-60. in China, above 2000. yeares:** Reynolds compares Montaigne, iii. 6 (2Z4<sup>v</sup>), who reads 'a thousand yeares before'.

**177-80. Youth . . . Merchandize:** cf. *AL* iii. 269-70.

### [LIX.] 'Of Fame' (pp. 177-8)

**8-30. Poets . . . Fame:** cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 173-88.

**10-12. Feathers . . . Ears:** the traditional Renaissance costume; cf. 2 *Henry IV*, 'Induction', 'Enter RUMOR, painted full of tongues'; Campion, *Squires Masque* (1614), 'Rumor in a skin coate full of winged Tongues, and over it an antick robe; on his head a Cap like a tongue, with a large paire of wings to it' (*Works*, ed. W. Davis [New York, 1967], 271).

**22-4. Rebels, . . . Feminine:** cf. XV. 17-21.

**25-7. tame . . . kill them:** see the discussion of Bacon's use of falconry imagery in the General Introduction, pp. xliv-xlv.

**38. Mucianus . . . Fame:** Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 80. Mucianus persuaded his

Syrian troops that Vitellius planned to shift them to the harsh duties of Germany, and thus easily persuaded them to switch their allegiance to Vespasian. Vitellius was later slain and Mucianus served Vespasian. Cf. VI. 11-15; LIIII. 43-5.

42-6. **Julius Cæsar**, . . . **Italy**: Gnaeus Pompeius (106-48 BC), after military successes in the East and against the pirates, was defeated at Pharsalus in a power struggle with Caesar and assassinated soon afterwards. Caesar, *De bello civili*, i. 6, reports a Senate speech by Pompey alleging that Caesar's troops were disloyal, but takes no credit himself for such a rumour. Bacon's source may be Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Pompey', 3N6, in which Appius 'soothed Pompey, and his humour' (marginal note).

46-9. **Livia**, . . . **amendment**: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 5. Tiberius was the son of Livia and T. Claudius Nero, whom Livia divorced to marry Augustus (she and Augustus had no children). Tiberius, emperor AD 14-37, later objected to his mother's continued interference and opposed moves to deify her at her death in AD 29.

50-1. **conceale the Death . . . Jannizaries**: cf. the death of Solyman the Magnificent in 1566 (Knolles, 4A4) and the accession of Amurath III in 1574 (*ibid.* 4I4).

53-6. **Themistocles, made Zerxes**, . . . **Hellespont**: cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Themistocles', L6.

56-7. **thousand . . . repeated**: cf. LV. 47-8.

## APPENDIX

### BACON'S DEDICATORY EPISTLES

(i) 1597

[THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE], A3-A4 IN 97a  
(REPRINTED IN 97b-12a, 12c)

To M. Anthony Bacon *his deare Brother.*

Loving and beloved Brother, I doe nowe like some that have an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to adventure the wrong they mought receive by untrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did ever hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retir-ing and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I have played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Silver were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes travaile abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated uppon my selfe, that her Majestie mought have the service of so active and able a mind, and I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations and Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preservation of the divine Majestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Januarie. 1597.

*Your entire Loving brother.*

Fran. Bacon.



## (ii) c.1610-1612

BRITISH LIBRARY, MS ADDITIONAL (SLOANE)  
4259, FO. 155

*To the most high and excellent Prince  
Henry, Prince of Wales, D: of Cornwall  
and Earle of Chester.*

*Yt may please your H.*

Having devided my life into the contemplative, and active parte, I am desierous to give his M, and yo<sup>r</sup> H. of the fruites of both, simple thoughe they be. To write just Treatises requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fitt, neither in regard of yo<sup>r</sup> H: princely affaiers, nor in regard of my continuall Services, W<sup>ch</sup> is the cause, that hath made me chuse to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantlye, then curiously, w<sup>ch</sup> I have called *Essaies*. The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For *Senecaes* Epistles to *Lucilius*, yf youe marke them well, are but *Essaies*,—That is dispersed Meditations, thoughe conveyed in the forme of Epistles. Theis labors of myne I knowe cannott be worthie of yo<sup>r</sup> H: for what can be worthie of you? But my hope is, they may be as graynes of salte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you wth satiety. And althoughe they handle those things wherein both Mens Lives, and there pens are most conversant, yet (What I have attained, I knowe not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, Whereof a Man shall find much in experience, litle in bookes; so as they are neither repetitions, nor fansies. But howsoever, I shall most humbly desier yo<sup>r</sup> H: to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive that if I cannott rest, but must shewe my dutifull, and devoted affection to yo<sup>r</sup> H: in theis thinges w<sup>ch</sup> proceed from my self, I shalbe much more ready to doe it, in performance of any yo<sup>r</sup> princely Commaundementes; And so wishing yo<sup>r</sup> H: all princely felicitye I rest,

Yo<sup>r</sup> H: most humble  
Servant

## (iii) 1612

[THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE], A3-A4 IN 12b  
(REPRINTED IN 13a-24)

TO MY LOVING BROTHER, S<sup>r</sup> JOHN CONSTABLE KNIGHT.

*My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie,*

*and particularly of communication in studies, Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine*

Your loving brother and friend,  
FRA. BACON.

## GLOSSARY

Reference to the edition is by essay number and line number (with a following '†' indicating fuller discussion in the 'Commentary'). An asterisk indicates that the keyword is the earliest citation in *OED*. (*OED* uses the 1607-12 dating for *H51*, which has been narrowed to 1610-12 in the present edition. See the Textual Introduction, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.)

abridgement *n.* epitome XXIX. 270

absurd *adj.* incongruous XXVI. 46,  
XLVII. 24 \*[1597]

abusing *vbl. n.* deceiving XXII. 126

abuse *v.* deceive XLII. 24

accident *n.* symptom XXX. 39

accommodate *v.* reconcile III. 60

account upon *v.* consider XXXI. 23

action *n.* acting, gesture XII. 5, 6

aculeate *adj.* pointed, stinging LVII. 50  
[earliest citation in *OED* is *AL*  
(1605)]

adamant *n.* attraction XVIII. 49

adhere *v.* cleave to person or party LI.  
11, 14 \*[1597]

admittance *n.* admission XXVI. 25

adust *adj.* dried up, parched XXXVI. 6

advancements *n. pl.* bequests XXXIII.  
108

advised *ppl. adj.* deliberate, judicious  
XVIII. 74, LVI. 11

advoutress *n.* adulteress XIX. 94

affect *v.* aim at, desire XXVI. 37, LV.  
6

affecting *pres. p.* liking, desiring I. 5,  
IX. 50, XIII. 5

affection *n.* desire VII. 48

agreeably *adv.* suitably XXXII. 57

alarum *n.* call to arms VI. 91†

allow *v.* approve, sanction XVIII. 7,  
XXVI. 39, LII. 42

almost *adv.* for the most part XLIII. 6  
and *conj.* if XXIII. 36, XL. 40

answer *v.* repay XLI. 111

anticamera *n.* antechamber XLV. 125  
\*[1625]†

antique *n.* antic, grotesque XXXVII.  
40†

apply *v.* adapt VII. 46, XXXII. 29,  
LII. 36

apposed *pp.* posed, questioned XXII.  
71

approach *n.* hostile movement of an  
enemy XIX. 67, XXI. 16

arbitrement *n.* arbitration III. 63

ariations *n. pl.* use of *aries* or  
battering-ram LVIII. 164 \*[1625]

artificiall *adj.* artful, deceitful XV. 185

artificially *adv.* XXXI. 28

ask *v.* require VI. 6, X. 55, XXXIII. 34

aspect *n.* position of a planet IX. 11

assay *n.* attempt XV. 40

assured *pp.* engaged, pledged XV. 237  
attemper *v.* moderate XIII. 6; *pp.*  
attempted LVII. 8

aversion *n.* aversion XXVII. 7

avoidance *n.* outlet XLV. 136

ayre *n.* song V. 30, XLIII. 28

band *n.* bond XV. 52, 53

battailes *n. pl.* battalions, lines of  
troops LVIII. 172, 176

beare *v.* get away with XXVI. 24

because *conj.* in order that VIII. 19,  
XXV. 12, XXXIII. 16

become *v.* betake oneself, go XLV.  
102

beholding *ppl. adj.* beholden, indebted  
X. 3, LIII. 38

belike *adv.* perhaps LI. 36

bereaved *pp.* deprived XX. 83

betimes *adv.* early in life VII. 44; in  
a short time XLII. 55

blackes *n. pl.* mourning clothes, funer-  
eal drapery II. 20

blanch *v.* blench, shrink from XX. 123,  
XXVI. 30

bloud *n.* passion II. 52

borderer *n.* next neighbour XXIX. 236

brave *adj.* excellent XXXIII. 57

brave *v.* adorn excessively, distort X.  
25, XV. 195

braverie *n.* ostentation XI. 51, XV.  
177, etc.

- break *v.* wear out, exhaust LII. 21  
 broake *v.* bargain, negotiate XXXIII. 64  
 businesse *n.* serious activity, occupation XI. 5, XXVII. 175, 188, 196, etc.  
 busy *adj.* restless, meddlesome IX. 31, XIII. 11; detailed, elaborate XLVI. 126  
 by-matter *n.* triviality XXII. 62  
 by-way *n.* secret way XI. 85, LVI. 76  
 can *v.* be able XI. 33  
 canvass *n.* XXII. 7†  
 capitall *adj.* chief LVI. 15  
 captious *adj.* fault-finding LVI. 122  
 carbuncle *n.* fiery red precious stone believed to shine in the dark I. 24  
 card *n.* map XVIII. 43, XXIX. 42  
 carol *n.* song of religious joy V. 30  
 casheer'd *ppl adj.* dismissed from service LI. 32  
 cast *v.* consider XXVII. 222; fashion, arrange XLV. 99; decide LI. 39  
 censure *n.* opinion XXIX. 7  
 certifie *v.* testify to XXXIII. 22 \* [1625]†  
 cession *n.* concession LIIII. 48  
 chapman *n.* buyer XXXIII. 65  
 chargeable *adj.* expensive XXIX. 264  
 checke with *v.* interfere with X. 51, XXXI. 6  
 cherishing *vbl n.* fostering XV. 125  
 chop with *v.* bandy words, argue LVI. 85  
 chopping *vbl n.* bartering XXXIII. 66  
 circumstances *n. pl.* details XXXII. 64  
 civill *adj.* relating to a citizen I. 63, LVIII. 93; orderly XVII. 20  
 civility *n.* civilization XLVI. 7  
 close *adj.* secret, hidden VI. 24, XI. 85, XXVI. 13, LVI. 30, etc.  
 closenesse *n.* secrecy VI. 14, 16, XXVII. 111, 115  
 coemption *n.* buying up the whole supply of a commodity XXXIII. 86  
 collation *n.* appointment to a benefice XIX. 124  
 collect *v.* deduce XXXV. 90  
 collegiate *adj.* as a body of colleagues XXXIX. 53 \* [1625]  
 colour *v.* deal with as one's own XLI. 119  
 combination *n.* banding together XX. 85, LV. 16; conspiracy XV. 207, LVI. 36  
 commiserable *adj.* pitiable XXXIII. 104  
 communicate *pp.* communicated, shared XIII. 45  
 composition *n.* constitution VI. 111, XX. 102, XXXI. 13, XLII. 19; combination LIIII. 30  
 compound *v.* settle a difference XLIX. 23, LV. 39, LVIII. 101  
 comprehend *v.* include XLVIII. 56; *pp.* XIX. 160  
 conceit *n.* fanciful notion XVII. 39, XXXIII. 9; conception LVI. 61; esteem LVI. 81; *n. pl.* thoughts VI. 106  
 conduce *v.* tend towards, further IX. 8, XXIX. 137, XL. 3  
 confederate *pp.* confederated, allied XVI. 12, XXIII. 18  
 conformitie *n.* correspondence XXIX. 245  
 conscience *n.* consciousness XI. 39  
 consent *n.* agreement, harmony XVI. 30, XLIIII. 7  
 constantly *adv.* steadily XX. 73  
 construction *n.* interpretation LVII. 63  
 contain *v.* restrain LVII. 47; hold together XXIX. 170; *pp. adj.* held together III. 5  
 contemplative *adj.* theoretical XVI. 52  
 contracting *vbl n.* concentrating XXV. 14  
 conversation *n.* entire manner of living XXVII. 12; intimacy XXVII. 52  
 converse in *v.* engage in XXXVIII. 47  
 convince *v.* confute XVI. 6  
 copulate *pp.* coupled, united XXXIX. 53  
 corroborate *ppl adj.* confirmed XXXIX. 10  
 countenance *n.* favour XLVIII. 36; moral support XLVIII. 9; expression XXII. 23, 47, XXVI. 19; out of countenance = disconcerted XII. 47, XLIII. 38, LII. 27  
 creature *n.* creation I. 42, VII. 17  
 credit *n.* reputation XVI. 36, XX. 6, XXVI. 37, 42, 43  
 creature *n.* servile bow III. 45



crook *v.* twist, pervert XXIII. 18  
 crooked *adj.* twisted XXVII. 203  
 crosse *adj.* contradictory III. 66, LIIII. 18  
 crosse *n.* cross-walk XLV. 89  
 crudities *n. pl.* undigested matter in the stomach XXV. 6  
 curious *adj.*; particular, fastidious IX. 13, XXV. 38, LII. 48; curiously *adv.* minutely L. 25  
 curiosity *n.* XLVI. 154 elaborate detail; *n. pl.* subtleties IX. 20  
 current *adj.* in general use XLI. 91; currantly *adv.* continuously XXXI. 7  
 dainty *adj.* pretty XXXVII. 15; daintily *adv.* finely I. 21, XLV. 131  
 dearth *n.* famine XV. 114  
 deceivable *adj.* deceptive XLIIII. 14  
 deceive *v.* cheat, deprive XLVI. 202  
 decent *adj.* comely, graceful XLIII. 16, 32, XLV. 113, XLVI. 209  
 declaring *vbl. n.* making clear LV. 26  
 decline *v.* turn aside XL. 43  
 deduced *pp.* brought before a tribunal LVI. 129 \*[1612, sole citation]  
 deepe *adj.* crafty IX. 99  
 degenerate *pp. adj.* degenerated XI. 55  
 deliveries *n. pl.* deliverances, escapes XIX. 45; presentations, displays XL. 12†  
 dependance *n.* retinue, body of dependents XXXVI. 58  
 depraving *vbl. n.* defamation XLIX. 25  
 derive *v.* draw off IX. 131  
 destitute *v.* abandon XXXIII. 102  
 device *n.* devising, invention XX. 49  
 diet *v.* take one's meals XVIII. 50  
 difference *n.* distinction XXVI. 29  
 difficilnesse *n.* stubbornness XIII. 60 \*[1610-12]  
 direction *n.* capacity for directing XXII. 126  
 discoursing *pres. p. adj.* discursive I. 8  
 discover *v.* reveal, display V. 41, VI. 95, XLVII. 39  
 discoverie *n.* disclosure VI. 49, 63, 101, XLI. 19, XLIX. 40  
 dispense with *v.* render superfluous XXXVI. 22  
 distastes *n. pl.* annoyances V. 33;

distasted *pp.* to be displeased with XLIX. 30 \*[1597]  
 divers *adj.* different, various III. 80, XXVII. 15, etc.  
 donative *n.* gift of money, a largesse XV. 220, XIX. 157†, XXIX. 304, 311, XXXIII. 13  
 doubt *v.* fear XXII. 37, LVIII. 81  
 drie *adj.* caustic XXXII. 53  
 due *n.* right XLVIII. 38, LIIII. 38  
 eccentrick *adj.* not agreeing XXIII. 19; eccentricks *n. pl.* XVII. 29†  
 edge *v.* urge on XLI. 98  
 effectuall *adj.* effective XXXIX. 60, LII. 29, LIIII. 11; effectually *adv.* XXII. 38, XLIX. 7  
 effeminate *v.* grow weak XXIX. 261  
 either *pr. n.* each LIIII. 20  
 elaborate *pp.* elaborated XX. 39  
 election *n.* choice XLIIII. 10, XLVIII. 39  
 embleme *n.* allegory XV. 173  
 engage *v.* involve VI. 93, XVIII. 67; pledge, promise XXXIX. 23  
 enow *adj. pl.* enough XXIX. 70  
 enterpriser *n.* adventurer XL. 37  
 entire *adj.* complete XV. 212, XXVII. 104, 202, XLVI. 106  
 environed *pp.* surrounded XLV. 11, 111  
 equipollent *adj.* equivalent XXXIX. 20  
 esculent *adj.* edible XXXIII. 31 \*[OED cites *Sylva* (1626), as earliest occurrence]  
 espial *n.* spy XLVIII. 20  
 estivation *n.* aestivation, summer retreat XLV. 115  
 excusation *n.* excuse XXV. 40, LIIII. 48  
 exercised *pp.* trained XL. 35  
 exhaust *pp.* exhausted VIII. 41, LVIII. 184  
 expect *v.* wait for XXXIII. 56  
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